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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES

INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE

EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXI.

London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1865.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE SUFFOLK CONGRESS HELD AT IPSWICH.

BY GEORGE TOMLINE, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., M.P., PRESIDENT.

MR. MAYOR, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

ON the part of the Archæological Association I thank you for your courteous welcome on this the first visit we have paid to Suffolk, or, to speak more properly, to East Anglia, the country of the Iceni. We may have something to tell, much to observe, and much, I hope, to learn; and I am glad to see many gentlemen present able to point out to us the local objects of archæological interest, and exchange with us ideas as to their origin, object, and history; for even correct opinions are none the worse for a little discussion. Lord Bolingbroke, I think it is, who talks of the pleasure he has in unniching a saint; and most of us feel equal glee in knocking a historian off his pedestal. Many and many a laborious writer is gradually sinking into the dust as antiquarian research, carefully and honestly conducted, assisted by such excursions as this in which we are engaged, sifts his statements, and upsets with unrelenting rigour the theories which will not bear the scrutiny of our more intelligent and more abundant knowledge.

Few parts of England can offer a more fertile field of inquiry than this. You have had the Roman, the Saxon, and the Dane. No doubt the footprints they left behind them

were effaced in blood; their track was marked by ruin and desolation, which happily have disappeared with the misery which attended them. But as records of later days, you have the Castle of Framlingham and the Abbey of St. Edmunds,—splendid specimens of baronial and ecclesiastical grandeur. Perhaps nothing new can be said of such remains as these,—perhaps not; but it is a gratifying result of increasing archæological knowledge that courage and curiosity increase. Problems deemed insoluble have become the favourite speculations of learned men here and in other parts of Europe. I recollect some years ago, when travelling in Spain, I looked with admiration on a Druidical monument, and read the remarks of Mr. Borrow upon it. You have heard of Mr. Borrow, the amateur gipsy, and an enthusiastic antiquary. He says :

“I gazed with reverence and awe upon the pile where the first colonists of Europe offered their worship to the unknown God. The temples of the mighty and skilful Roman, comparatively of modern date, have crumbled into dust in its immediate neighbourhood. The churches of the Arian Goth, his successor in power, have sunk into the earth, and are not to be seen; and the mosques of the Moor, the conqueror of the Goth, where and what are they? Upon the rock, masses of hoary and vanishing ruin. Not so the Druids’ stone. There it stands, upon the hill of winds, as freshly new as on the day—perhaps thirty centuries back—when it was raised by means which are a mystery. Earthquakes have shaken it, but its copestone has not fallen; rain-floods have deluged it, but failed to sweep it from its station; the burning sun has flashed upon it, but neither split nor crumbled it; and time—stern old time—has rubbed it with its iron tooth, with what effect let those who view it declare. There it stands; and he who would learn the history, the literature, and the learning, of the ancient Celt and Cimbrian may gaze upon its broad covering, and glean from that blank stone the whole known amount.”

These are eloquent words, and I have never forgotten them. They were written not many years ago; yet the difficulty which such a man as Mr. Borrow thought insuperable, is now ingeniously, if not incontestably, explained. Ethnology and philology, new sciences, concur with older ones in throwing farther back the horizon of history; and agree that the primitive race, of which the Druids were an offspring, emigrated from Central Asia, and colonised both shores of the Mediterranean, India, and perhaps China.

There is in this county, I believe, no Druids' stone; but you have memorials, medals of the past, compared to which the Druids' altar is a thing of yesterday. The flint implements of Hoxne—the productions of an age so distant, that, though satisfactorily demonstrated to our reason, it almost appals our imagination—are true objects of interest to antiquaries, whose love of knowledge is not limited by mediæval, ancient, mythical history; but ascends to the earliest traces of savage man, and aspires to decipher the archæology of nature herself. And this is the merit of our science,—we are insatiable. A young man learns at school what schools can teach. He is naturally dissatisfied. The Greeks and Romans cannot satiate him. The annals of the works of man are soon exhausted. The learned darkness which envelopes the earliest records of man is soon deserted for the bright light of nature. Geology is the archæology of our earth. That attracts him. He gives himself up to it heart and soul, but not long. Geology has done its work. It has become a low formation. In the progress of science it has been outstripped. The causes of geology, the laws of force, the single force of nature, embracing all the gigantic powers which we now know only in their results, including vital force, and extending into space as our eyes advance into it, are the problems which alone can check his zeal for information. There at present we all must stop, but only to take breath. We inhabit a thin film of this globe, almost the smallest in the heavens. Three miles above the ground, one mile below it; that is the shred of this earth on which man can live. Our faculties are bounded by the powers of the microscope and the telescope. A shred of knowledge is all we can gain. Yet man has done wonders. By the appetite for learning which forces a young archæologist to pause and reflect upon a coin of Julius Cæsar, upon a flint implement in the drift, upon the fact that heat and light are motion, upon the discovery—not yet quite discovered, I admit—that in the nebulæ nitrogen is decomposed into more elementary substances,—we have advanced, and shall continue to progress.

We, archæologists, have our step on this ladder. Few of us who have placed our foot on the lowest round can help ascending. Some of us move on with eagerness and hope; others, perhaps more usefully, occupy themselves with

making the ground good below them, and blowing away the clouds and vapours which have long darkened and enfeebled the mind of man; for there are archæologists of ideas, who discover and reason upon old prejudices, and by explaining remove them. And some new prejudices are even more strong, and more difficult to root out, than old ones. The same hostility to inquiry, though no vested interest except that of indolence exists; the same reluctance to accept demonstration,—is to be found in modern science, as when powerful classes were leagued together to resist innovation. Dr. Odling, in his discovery of the composition of water, overthrowing the theory which had satisfied mankind only from the days of Cavendish, excited as much anger as if he had been a colonial bishop; and now, by the spectrum analysis applied to nebulæ, nitrogen appears not to be an element, but to be capable of decomposition into some more elementary matter. If this be so,—and the idea seems likely to result in a new truth,—what bitter feelings and noisy quarrels will ensue between the gentlemen of the telescope and the laboratory. But we leave these dissensions to the chemist and the astronomer. Our object and our reward is the simple truth. Not that we are exclusive devotees of our own pursuits. The very attention we pay to them makes us more keen and observant of the proceedings of our learned brethren. They are our allies in the search for truth: not the less sincere, perhaps, that we have little to ask of one another. They share with us the intellectual freedom which is the characteristic and the pride of the present day. No one supposes that we excel in mental strength the times of Plato and Galileo; but if we have not the advantage of superiority, we have that of freedom; and noble are the fruits it has borne. The scientific progress which has been made, the secrets stolen from nature, the marvellous discoveries which have given as much happiness as knowledge to mankind, we owe in a great measure to the boldness and energy of this grand age we live in. We owe much, and I believe we shall owe more, to the increasing liberty demanded by the increasing honour paid to the courage and independence of the mind of man.

ON MS. COLLECTIONS RELATING TO SUFFOLK IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

THE materials which exist in our national collection for a history of Suffolk, are so varied and so abundant that it is impossible, upon the present occasion, to attempt anything like a detailed description of them. It will be my object, therefore, merely to point out the latest sources of information which are available to those who may feel disposed to add to the meagre accounts which have been published by Suckling and Gage, and who from personal connection with the county, and interest in its history and antiquities, may wish to dig deeper into so rich a mine, and render available for public use treasures which have hitherto lain comparatively buried, "*nempe carent quia vate sacro.*"

It would be superfluous for me to refer a meeting like the present to any of the well-known collections, such as the Harleian, Lansdown, and Sloane, in which so much valuable information especially relating to the heraldic and genealogical history of the county may be found; or the earlier Additional MSS. which contain the collections of Upcott, Craven Ord, Gibbons, and Suckling, and the still more laborious and extensive researches of Jermyn and Davy. With respect to the latter, however, as they have not been so much studied as they deserve to be, both on account of the immense variety of subjects which they embrace, and the diligence employed by their author in collecting the materials which he has so usefully brought together, I propose to enter a little more into detail. They are numbered from 19,077 to 19,207 among the Additional MSS., and are arranged as follows: from 19,077 to 19,113 are collections for a history of the county, arranged alphabetically in hundreds, beginning with Babergh and ending with Wilford. Then come pedigrees of Suffolk families, also arranged alphabetically, as far as No. 19,156. No. 19,157 is a "*Breviary of Suffolk*"; or a Plain and Familiar Description of the County, the Fruits, the Buildings, the People, and Inhabitants," etc.,

copied from Harl. 3873. It has a dedicatory epistle to Sir Robert Crane, is dated 9 Feb. 1618, and is followed by an alphabet of arms of county families, drawn up by Davy himself. Next follow armorials as far as 19,159; and No. 19,160 is "An Alphabetical List of Suffolk Surnames, with the Origins of them as far as they can be made out." That some of them are "made out" in a somewhat fantastic manner, the following examples, taken at random from among many others, will prove. "*Argall*, the tartar of wine-vessels"; "*alkali*, clay, from Lat. *argilla*; Sax., *adultera, malus, improbus*. *Argil*, Celtic, a covered way"; and inserted is a note to the following effect,—"*argal*, a vulgar corruption of the Latin word *ergo*; with the well-known quotation from *Hamlet*,—"But if the water come to him and drown him, he drowns not himself; *argal* he that is not guilty of his own death, shortens not his own life"; and references to Nares, Bailey, and Skinner, showing that *argal* or *argoil* sometimes signifies "clay," and sometimes "hard lees of wine sticking to the sides of vessels." Notwithstanding all which learned conjecture we are informed by Mr. Lower in his *Patronymica Britannica*, that the name is "possibly derived from Ercall, a parish in Shropshire." Again, *cobbold*, "a set of German spirits, were called *kobold*, from whence the English 'goblin.' They haunted dark and solitary places, and were often found in mines." But here again the writer seems to differ from Lower, who, quoting Ferguson, says that, although the name may perhaps come from the *kobold* of Germany, a harmless and often kindly sprite, something like the Scotch "brownie," yet this is doubtful; for we have the name of Cobb, answering to the Germ. and Danish name Kobbe; and *bald* or *bold* is one of the most common Teutonic composites." Cubold, an Anglo-Saxon personal name, is found in *Domesday*; and Leuricus Cobbe, who was doubtless a Saxon, is mentioned in the Suffolk *Domesday* (334, b.) as holding land under the presbyter Ansketillus in the time of Edward the Confessor.

From No. 19,161 to 19,164 is "A Synopsis of the Lords of the several Manors in the County of Suffolk," also alphabetically arranged according to the parishes in which the several manors are situated, beginning from the time of *Domesday Book*, and brought down to the year 1845. Then follow the *Athenæ Suffolkienses*, or a catalogue of Suffolk

authors, with some account of their lives and lists of their writings, in four volumes. The first three are arranged chronologically, with tables of authors' names in the same order, and alphabetical indexes at the end. They contain biographical and literary notices of—1, persons born in the county; 2, persons having had a permanent or long residence therein, including monks of the several monasteries; 3, lords of manors and other large proprietors of lands, though not resident; 4, incumbents of livings, including the archdeacons of the two archdeaconries; 5, persons who have received the greater part of their education in the large public schools in the county; 6, masters of the public grammar schools;—and the period they embrace is from A.D. 652 to 1848. The fourth volume contains living authors, brought down to the year 1851, and is also alphabetically arranged under the names of the several writers. The two next volumes also relate to the literary and artistic celebrities of Suffolk, the former of them containing a list of anonymous publications printed in the county from 1723 to 1741, with a list of papers published anonymously, by Davy himself; and a list of Suffolk authors to be further inquired about, the latter consisting of notices of the lives, characters, and works, of Suffolk authors of all ages, compiled by Davy from various histories, newspapers, magazines, etc., arranged alphabetically under the names of the various authors. These are followed by two volumes relating to the general history of the county, their chief contents being a description of the whole county, with a table of its divisions according to its hundreds, parishes, and manors; derivations of the more common terminations of the names of parishes and places in the county; its history as a portion of the kingdom of East Anglia; a list of the tenants *in capite*, or serjeanty, as they stand in *Domesday Book*; accounts of the possessions of bishops and religious houses; extracts from the *Brevia Regum*, and from various chronicles and charters, both printed and manuscript, beginning from *circa* 920; notices of its militia and yeomanry; accounts of some of the charitable foundations, more especially those of the several parishes of the Woodbridge Union in 1845; the ecclesiastical arrangements and antiquities, and the natural history; lists of the sheriffs of Norfolk down to 1840, and those of Suffolk (with a description of the arms of each of them)

down to 1851; lists of the knights of the shire down to 1847, with short accounts of each member, from the parliament of 26 Edward I (1297); lists of the peers, knights, justices of the peace, grand jurors, and various Suffolk dignitaries; with lists of brasses, seals, and coins (the latter being traced); and of the MSS. and printed books, including various acts of Parliament relating to the sale, etc., of estates, naturalisation, paving, draining, making and improving canals, harbours, etc.; inclosure, poor-house, railway, and turnpike acts, commencing 28 Hen. VIII (1536), and brought down to 5th and 6th Vic. (16 July 1842); lists of publications relating to the lives of persons belonging to the county; lists of pamphlets, and drawings and sketches illustrative of the county, arranged alphabetically according to hundreds; and fac-similes of autographs of various Suffolk celebrities upon tracing papers.

Nos. 19,173 to 19,183 comprise catalogues of engraved portraits and views, and original drawings and sketches illustrative of the history of the county; among which will be found lists of maps and coast-charts, views of various seats, churches, and objects of architectural or antiquarian interest in the county; and in 19,182, lithographed views of Brome Church and its monuments to the Cornwallis family, from drawings by the Hon. Arabella Townshend, daughter of the first Lord Bayning, who was rector of Brome and Oakley in 1821; the volume being illustrated by MS. biographical notices and pedigrees drawn up and written by David Elisha Davy.

The next volume was used by the same writer for recording his visits to the churches of the county, and his investigations of the charities, registers, terriers, and brasses; with his researches into the extent of the manors, by marks affixed against the several churches and manors, with summaries of the extent of his researches from Jan. 1811 to Jan. 1833, introduced between two tables of the hundreds of the county, with their divisions into parishes, and their subdivisions into hundreds.

Then follows a series of valuable miscellaneous papers in twelve folio volumes (19,185-19,197), all relating to the county. Their contents are so numerous that it would occupy too much time even to epitomise them. Suffice it to say that they treat of almost every variety of subject,—

such, for instance, as the subscription for Beccles races, on vellum, with autograph signatures of the stewards, dated 25 June, 1765; copies of letters to and from Nicholas Revett, an architect, of the family of the Revetts of Brandeston Hall, and co-editor with James Stuart, of the *Athenian Antiquities* (1762-1816), while on his travels in Athens and the Ionian Islands in 1750-1; various lists of freemen; licenses to kill game; releases, bonds, documents, relating to elections, corporation and ecclesiastical affairs, pedigrees, suits, and actions at law; and, among other curious matter, translations from the half hundred rolls relative to "the half hundred of Ixninge" (now the parish of Exninge in the hundred of Lackford), setting forth "presentments before the justices itinerant, of offences committed at Ixninge and Newmarket," 14 Ed. I (1285-6); and various other documents, of an early date, concerning lands and rents in the same parish, down to the year 1693. It is, however, impossible for me, as I have already observed, to go into further detail with regard to these volumes. The few examples I have cited will sufficiently indicate the extent and variety of their contents; and their perusal will amply repay any one who may be interested in acquiring a thorough acquaintance with the history and antiquities of the county.

The next volume (19,198) consists of wills and legal documents from 1539 to 1805. It contains some few originals, but the major portions are copies, and among them may be mentioned several testamentary bequests, indentures, and various instruments relating to grants and titles to lands and estates in Yoxford, Ubbeston, Westhall, Blithborough *cum* Walderswick, and Grundisburgh, belonging to the families of the Blois of Grundisburgh and Coxfield Halls, and the Kemps of Gissing Hall, co. Norfolk; with an original abstract of the title of the Right Hon. Lady Selina Countess of Huntingdon, and the Hon. Mrs. Clutterbuck, to a freehold farm and lands in Yoxford,—the particulars being dated 1700-1768, with counsel's opinion dated 1768; a "Kalendar of the County of Suffolk, containing the Names of the Chief Bailiffs and Jurors of the several Hundreds," etc. This calendar is undated; but Davy remarks in his account of the hundred of Exninge, where it is also given, that it is of the date of the end of Ed. I or the early part of the reign of Ed. II; and he adds a note stating that "the practice in

those times was for the capital bailiff, or headborough, and two persons named "elizers," to come into court, and be there sworn. Then the two "elizers" chose out of the residents of the hundred ten other persons in addition to themselves, who, being also sworn, formed the jury, and made their presentments before the judges. When there was a half hundred, then six jurors only made their presentments." There are besides various documents upon law points of considerable interest to the inhabitants of this more immediate neighbourhood, as, for instance, a decision relative to the repairs of the highway between Ipswich and Melton, given by the board of magistrates on 15 Jan. 1794; and the whole question in the form of a case, with counsel's opinion upon it; and sundry other matters which will be found upon reference to the volume itself, but which, as its size is that of a large folio, and it contains four hundred and five pages, time prevents me from describing more in detail.

The next volume is a small octavo in two parts, the first containing notes relative to Herringfleet and Somerleyton in 1770;—the second, an inscription from Ely Cathedral; some memoranda concerning flowers and monuments, etc., in Iselborn Church, co. Cambridge.

The following volume is entitled "The History and Antiquities of the antient Villa of Wheatfield in the County of Suffolk; done into Verse by the Rev. William Myers, Vicar of Walton, 1759." Prefixed is the printed prose work upon the same subject by the Rev. John Clubbe (1758), of which Myers' production is meant to be a poetical translation. Davy has inserted a manuscript biographical memoir of the author, in which he states that "Myers was a great coin-collector, and that many MSS. on this and other subjects were found after his death: among them a large collection of verses (they cannot be called poetry), of which this volume formed a part." He adds that the performance is "a singular one,"—a fact which, I think, the following samples of its quality will fully prove. The epistle dedicatory to the rector of Wheatfield begins thus :

"To whom, dear sir, can I address
This work, e'er it goes to press,
More properly than unto you,
Who know right well the whole is true?
So hope you'll kind indulgence show

To this my infant Muse ; who yet
 From Helicon could never get
 One cheering draught for to inspire
 My breast with wild poetic fire ;
 The real cause why I can soar no higher :
 Ne'er dreamt with Ennius while I slept
 Old Homer into me was crept.
 You'll ask why I did write at all
 When from the Muses I'd no call ?
 And why did I presume to meddle
 With what to others seems a riddle ?
 I'll tell you in plain words my story,
 Tho' 't tends not greatly to my glory."

Then follows more in the same strain, for thirty-eight folio pages; and the preface commences thus :

" 'Tis a respect that's always due
 Unto our readers, ne'er so few,
 By way of preface to declare
 What all the things we treat on are,
 That some account they may receive
 For what they do their money give,
 And to read thorough do intend,
 If patience hold unto the end."

The "History" itself runs from ff. 52 to 153, being followed by an index of words and things. It opens with the following poem :

" Ye rural nymphs, my muse inspire,
 Assist me to attune my lyre,
 That in fit notes I may rehearse
 A subject yet unsung in verse :
 A vill describe whose mighty praise
 Unknown has been to former lays,
 Which in rich Suffolk hath its site
 In the south-west, now Wheatfield hight.
 At distance they who live there fix
 From London miles near sixty-six.
 This famous, ancient, pleasant vill
 Does south-east stand on a steep hill,
 Whose roots are watered by a rill
 Which Brett, from Brettenham, we do call,
 Where it at Higham has its fall
 Into the noted river Stour,
 Into whose bosom it doth pour

Its limpid stream, which doth divide
The Suffolk from the Essex side."

After such specimens as the above, it is needless for me to quote any more examples of this author's poetical effusions. We have, unfortunately, some more of them in the next volume but one, among other compositions by Suffolk writers whose productions fill Nos. 19,201 and 19,202. Among them are original verses upon various subjects, and translations, by Rev. William Clubbe, vicar of Brandeston, John Mole, C. V. Legrice, Letitia Jermyn, John Brady, W. B. Bransby, Rev. George Turner, Agnes Strickland, Rev. John Mitford, John Cordingley, and others. Many of them, although they are not known, are well worthy of perusal both on account of their subject-matter and their style, touching, as they do, on all sorts of themes,—“from grave to gay, from lively to severe,”—while others are altogether unworthy of a place in any collection of poetry.

This last remark, however, will not apply to the next volume, the first portion of which contains poems collected by Mrs. Firman Josselyn, the daughter of Mrs. Cobbold of the Cliff in this town; and the second, some of the compositions of Mrs. Cobbold herself. The collected poems consist of short pieces by Dr. Dodderidge, Dr. Johnson, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sterne, Sheridan, and other well-known writers; while the original compositions of Mrs. Cobbold, which form the second portion of the volume, are in some instances distinguished by a lively sense of humour, and others by deep devotional expression, and in all by the marks of a gentle disposition and an accomplished mind. The productions of this lady's muse are of a very varied character, and show her talents to have been of a most versatile kind. They embrace all sorts of subjects, from “An Epitaph on a Scarecrow,” and “The Crooked Stick, a Tale addressed to Unmarried Ladies,” to paraphrases on the Psalms, lines upon the death of friends, valentines, odes, and poetical epistles; while the concluding part of the volume contains a prose account of her visit to the Lakes of Cumberland in June 1795.

The four remaining volumes contain sermons preached by various Suffolk divines at the churches of Hawsted, Friston, Snape, Aldborough, and elsewhere, between 1697 and 1755;

and these end the *Suffolk Collections*, strictly so called, made by D. E. Davy for the history of the county.

From 19,213, however, to 19,241 are twenty-nine quarto volumes of original correspondence, chiefly addressed to Eleazar Davy and David E. Davy, many of them containing information relative to the county and its history, and written by correspondents who were distinguished either by their social position or their literary attainments. Among them we find letters from Augustus Henry and George Henry, Dukes of Grafton, Charles the First, Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Euston, Lord Charles Fitzroy, Lord Braybrooke, Lord Rous (afterwards Earl of Stradbroke), Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir Robert Kemp, Sir John Rous, Sir John Cullum, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, Sir Gilbert Affleck, Sir Henry Peyton, and many other well-known peers, baronets, and knights. Also from Dr. George Tomline, Bishop of Winchester; Crabbe the poet, Craven Ord, the Misses Strickland, Rev. A. Suckling, and a great many others whose names are familiar not only to many who are now present, on account of their connexion by birth and education with Suffolk, but who have earned for themselves a more than local fame from the contributions which they have made to the literature of their country.

The next three volumes also contain letters from celebrated persons, and are preserved principally on account of their value as autographs. They are dated from 1764 to 1830, and among the writers are, John Lord Wodehouse, Dr. Edward Jenner, Sir Edward Littleton, John Earl of Portsmouth, Charles M. Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury, George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly; John Scott, Earl of Eldon; Robert Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh; Nicholas Vansittart, Lord Bexley; Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, and others whose names are familiar to us all throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Three volumes of "Miscellanies" bring this most valuable collection to an end at Additional MSS. No. 19,247; and as I have detained you so long over this, I will not exhaust your patience by dwelling at any great length upon the remaining MSS., to which I will now, in conclusion, call your attention.

No. 21,032 is a folio volume containing notes upon various

churches in Suffolk, with pen and ink sketches of architecture, copies of inscriptions and coats of arms, and miscellaneous remarks by Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms. It is in Sir William's own handwriting, and is preceded by an alphabetical index of names.

From Nos. 21,033 to 21,059 are volumes relating principally to various manors in the county. Among them are a "Rentale Manerii de Walsham," on vellum, 15 Ed. III; and another, 23 Hen. VII; list of subscriptions to the subsidy in the hundred of Blackbourne in 1661; and the assessment for the subsidy in the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon for 1557, 1628, and 1629; court-book of the manor of Walton-cum-Trimley, 1620-1622; extent, or survey, of the manor of Falkenham in 1607; and of Candelent and Capelle in 1515, with the court-books and rentals of the latter manors from 1528 to 1647; court-book of the manor of Martlesham-cum-Newbourn from 1539 to 1613; assessment of the hundred of Colneis in 1624 and 1641, and of Hoxne in 1663; copies of correspondence and instructions from James Earl of Suffolk, as lord-lieutenant of the county, to Lord Cornwallis as lieutenant, and the deputy-lieutenants, relative to the militia and the payment of the subsidy in 1661; extracts from the books of courts-leet and from the court-rolls of the manor of Monk-Soham in the hundred of Hoxne, from 35 Edward to 39 Elizabeth (1306-1597), with pleadings in an action at law *in re* Robert Hawes *v.* Lionel Tallemache; a recent copy of the rental of the manor of Wyke's Ufford for the year 1551; books of courts-leet for various manors from 1463 to 1578; extents of the manors of Blaxall, Tunstall, Donningworth, and Bannyards, in the hundred of Plomesgate, from 1575 to 1600; a collection of drawings and engravings of the ancient seals of English kings, religious houses, charitable institutions, private families, etc., principally in connexion with the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; various plans of estates and parishes, upon paper and vellum-rolls, from 1708 to 1839; and original writs, on vellum, of *certiorari*, *habeas corpus*, attachment, *procedendo*, and *superse-deas*, directed to the bailiffs of Ipswich, between 1509 and 1531.

No. 23,731 is a petition of Nicholas Garneys, Esq., of Little Redisham, to be confirmed in his right to the advowson of the rectory of Ringfield and the chapel of Little Redisham;

with the representations of Lord High Chancellor Ellesmere, Dr. John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and dated 1611 to 1613.

Nos. 23,945 to 23,967 contain, amongst other matters, remarks on the early mints at Ipswich, commencing from the reign of Edgar the Pacific (959-975), by W. S. Fitch; papers relating to the case of *Arcedeckne v. Owen*, for the fishery of the Easton river; letters on the subject of Hitcham charity, Ipswich, 1795 to 1800; survey of the manor of Baudeseye, 16 Hen. VI (1438); rental of the manor of Hollisley, 16 Hen. VII (1500-1); abstract of court-rolls and court-books of Hollisley and Sutton, 12 Ed. III to George III (1338 to 1765); court-books of the manors of Butley, Tangham, and Monk Soham, from 1562 to 1736; collections relating to the Suffolk mints, town-pieces, and tradesmen's tokens, by W. S. Fitch; *testamenta vetusta Gippovicensia*, abstracts of wills relating to Ipswich, from 1438 to 1532, by the same; customs and extent of the rectory of Wangford, 1532-1580; a description of Dunwich, with a list of its bailiffs, from 1st Ed. IV to 24 Charles I; *The Suffolk Garland*, which contains not only the collections of songs, ballads, poems, etc., made by the Rev. James Ford, the editor of *The Suffolk Garland* in 1818, and the additions of Augustine Page, editor of the Supplement to Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, but also papers in print and manuscript added by the late Mr. Fitch as new matter for a second edition of *The Garland*. The last MS. of this collection, all of which was in the possession of Mr. Fitch, is a volume of miscellaneous papers relating to Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. It contains a terrier of lands, the customs of Benhall, and various other matters, which time and space prevent me from describing at large.

The MSS. numbered 24,821 to 24,824 are from the valuable collections formed by Charles Devon, late Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. These consist of the results of his searches relative to tithes, endowments, extents of manors, notes of law-cases, analyses of charters, abstracts of legal documents, wills, and instruments of all kinds (both from public and private sources), relating to the various counties in England and Wales. They are contained in one hundred and fifty-nine volumes, and the places treated of in the Suffolk portion of them are,—Aldborough, Billesford,

Brandeston, Brandon, Bungay, Cavendish, Cornheath, Cretingham, Downham, Eye, Houghley, Mildenhall, Northall, Orford, Southwold, Stowmarket, and Watlefield.

The next volume which I have to notice is the most curious of any which have come under our observation. It is the original *Liber Niger*, or Domesday Book of Ipswich, which was formerly in the possession of this town, but is now the property of the trustees of the British Museum, being numbered 25,012. It treats of the ancient laws, customs, and usages of the borough, and was compiled 19 Ed. I (1290-1). It is a folio volume of fifty pages, in French, written on vellum, and was purchased from the representatives of the late Sir Francis Palgrave in November 1862. As extracts have been freely given from it by Wodderspoon in his memorials of Ipswich, I will not detain you longer over it, except to remark that the volume preceding it is a translation of it into English in the fifteenth century. This volume is also a folio on vellum, and contains at the commencement the entries, in Latin, from 2 John to 15 Henry VI (1200 to 1437). "Coming events," it is said, "cast their shadows before"; and the opening sentence of the book, which runs thus,— "For as much as elde dom day and the elde vsage of the toun of Gippyswych and other rollys and remembrances of the same toun, by a fals com'on clerk of the forseide toun weryn born away and falselich aloyned," seems to foreshadow a fate which, alas! overtook not only the "elde domesday," but this its successor; for unless it also had been "born away and falselich aloyned," it is difficult to say how it could have found its way from its dignified rest among the archives of "the toun of Gyppswich" to its more elevated position upon the book-shelves of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and thence to the MS. department of the British Museum.

The next volumes which I shall bring under your notice will be especially interesting to all "Gyppswichians," inasmuch as they are not only the work of Ipswich men, but contain many particulars both of persons and places which have not hitherto appeared in print. The first three of the MSS. to which I allude are numbered, additional, 25,334 to 25,336. They are collections for the history of the town and borough of Ipswich, by the late William Batley, town clerk to the corporation in 1785, and contain translations of grants and charters of the corporation, perambulations, extracts from

trials respecting the corporation water-boundaries, lists of representatives in parliament from the time of Edward II, and of officers of the corporation, biographies of Ipswich worthies; historical and genealogical memoranda respecting the Tollemache and other county families; "minutes of proceedings which have taken place in the corporation of Ipswich previous to the general election in 1784, and from that time to the 29th Sept. 1827," including an official letter of Lord Sidmouth, and curious local handbills, printed scraps, cuttings, etc., collected by William Batley, Esq., bailiff of Norwich in 1819.

The next volume treats of the Ipswich boundaries by land and water, and contains, amongst others, the following documents: perambulation of the liberties, 26 Edward III and 13 Hen. VIII; times of the boundaries having been gone over from 1565 to 1819; description of the perambulation in 1812, with notes and plan; original letter relating to the complaint of the inhabitants of Rushmere and Westerfield being unjustly taxed by the constables of the hundreds of Carlford and Bosmere towards the composition for the provision of the royal household, with autograph signatures of Sir Thomas Edmonds as treasurer of the household, Sir Roger Palmer, Thomas Merrye, and Richard Manley; and at the foot an autograph note of Sir John Barker, Bart., appointing a time for settling the complaint; bill for work at the Bull's Ringle in 1676; commission of inquiry, and extracts from charters relative to the extent of the port and admiralty jurisdiction, from 3 Rich. I to 11 Hen. VIII (1191-1519); petition to erect a house on this side of Burn Bridge in 1644; licenses granted for enclosing parts of the Ooze, and for exercising rights over the Orwell, from 1572 to 1719; original warrant, with autograph of John Burrough, addressed to the town chamberlain, and ordering payment of £3 to Cuthbert Carr for making a map of the river, 30 March, 1677; various papers in reference to disputes between the corporation and the admiralty with regard to the jurisdiction of the latter, from 3 Ed. IV to 32 Charles II (1463 to 1680); minutes of trials and pleadings in actions at law respecting river-rights and boundaries in the causes of *Warren v. Trennings* (1736), *Ipswich corporation v. Harwich* (1778), and the corporation *v. John Cobbold* (1810 and 1812), the latter being accompanied by Lord Ellenborough's and Mr. Justice Bayley's

judgment; and the corporation *v.* Ralph Staton and William Ashmore in 1814; a description, sundry particulars, and notice of ancient documents relating to the manor of Wyke's Bishop; various plans and documents about the right of taking ballast from the river; copy of an order of the Privy Council for destroying cormorants, 29 Sept. 1623; and a short abstract of deodands by drowning, 5 Ed. VI to 9 Anne (1551-1711).

But time presses, and I will now run over the remaining volumes *currente calamo*, premising, however, that they are quite worth an examination in detail by those who are interested in the town and county. No. 25,338 is a volume containing extracts from "Bacon's book," which, as it is in the possession of the corporation here, is doubtless too familiar to you all to need any further reference; or at least, if it is not so well known to you as I assume that it is, I can only say that it ought to be. The extracts which are in the Museum are in the handwriting of John Wodder-spoon, the author of the memorials of Ipswich, as also is the next volume, 25,339, which contains abstracts of inquisitions, *post mortem*, relating to Suffolk, from 1 Edw. I to 6 Edw. IV (1272 to 1467), and is translated from an ancient MS. in the possession of Sir Robert Sparrow of Worlingham Hall.

No. 25,340 is a "*taxatio nonæ garbarum*" in the hundreds of Ipswich, Ixning, Dunwich, Thredling, Sothing, Mutford, Bury, Wilford, Lackford, Samford, Theswastoe, Blackbourn, Hartesmere, Stow, Thingoe, Carlford, and Colneis. The survey was taken 20 April 14 Edw. III, by the prior of St. Peter's, Ipswich; Ralph de Bockinge, John de Hemenhall, and Ralph de Wylyngam, as commissioners; the abbot of Leyston having been appointed in the place of the prior of St. Peter's, Ipswich, on the 10th of June following. The MS. itself is in the handwriting of Craven Ord, and is partly unpublished.

Next follows (No. 25,341) a translation into modern English of the Ipswich *Domesday*, by W. Illingworth, Deputy Keeper of the Records at the Tower in 1812, with a charter of *inspeximus* dated 30 May, 10 Edw. II (1316); the ordinances of the burgesses of Ipswich, both native and foreign, 14 Edw. II; a transcript of the roll, 2 John, respecting the same subject; and a list of the foreign burgesses, made in

Ipswich 18, 24, 27, and 36 Henry III (1233, 1239, 1242, and 1251).

Next follows a most interesting volume of the original account books for Christ's Hospital, Ipswich, for the years 1569 to 1572 and 1578 to 1582. The entries are not only most valuable as shewing the nature of the work done in the hospital, and the price of labour at the period, but some of them are most amusing, as giving us an insight into the customs; and, in more senses than one, into the habits of our ancestors. Thus, for instance, the following is entered under January 1571: "It'm p'd for a loc and a chayne to hange vpon a vagabond, xij*d*." "It'm for mendyng of the backgate locke, iij*d*." So that the vagabond was evidently a more expensive investment, in the article of locks, than the back-gate was. In November 1573 we find an entry which will enable both the ladies and gentlemen of the present day to form some estimate of the materials and value of dress at that period, as compared with those of our more expensive and expansive modern days. "It'm for ij yardes and $\frac{1}{2}$ for a cote for Thomas Smythe, of graye, and j yarde and $\frac{1}{2}$ of blanketyng for a petycote. It'm p'd for the makyng of hys cotes, xj*d*. It'm v yardes of graye to make ij gownes, one for Besse Norres and one for Mary Jonson, and and iij yardes of blanketyng for ij petycotes. It'm p'd for the makyng of the sayd cotes, xxij*d*."

The following MS. (No. 25,343) is also very interesting. It is the original book of accounts of the receipts and payments in respect of Henry Tooley's foundation in Ipswich. The principal receipts are for the rents of the farms of Ulveston Hall, Kent's Hill, Claydon Hills, manor of Sackvilles, lands in Whitton and Holbroke, and lands and tenements in Ipswich. The payments consist of allowances to the poor, the expenses of Tooley's tomb in St. Mary Key Church, the repairs of the almshouses, the expenses of suits in connexion with the charity, the surveys of certain lands, repairs of highway rendered necessary by a great flood in 1576, payments for wine, sack, and various other "creature comforts," and for incidental expenses attending the court kept at Ulveston, and a great many curious and interesting items. It extends from 1566 to 1595, and has lists of the wardens elected and chosen by the bailiffs and portmen during that period. It consists of 360 pages, in folio; and at the com-

mencement is this ominous note, in the handwriting of John Wodderspoon: "This book came to me from ——. From whence it came to this source I know not." Perhaps the information of some here present may be more complete upon this latter point than was that of the learned author of the memorials of Ipswich.

No. 25,344 is the original account book of the churchwardens of St. Peter's, Ipswich, from 1563 to 1564. It contains many curious particulars relative both to the church and the parish of St. Peter's; and is followed by the last of the MSS. relating to Suffolk which are at present in the British Museum. It was only purchased about thirteen months ago; and thus I have brought these notices down to the latest period of any addition which has been made to the previously acquired means of obtaining information relative to the county. The MS. is numbered 25,345, and contains extracts from the will-books at Ipswich, from 1437 to 1530; and is, as so many others are, in the handwriting of John Wodderspoon.

Besides these MSS., however, which relate more especially to the history and antiquities of the county, are many others which may be said to be of a more personal nature, as referring more particularly to matters interesting either to private families or the literary public in general. As an instance of the former class, I may mention the volume of letters and papers relating to Lord Crofts of Saxham (1629 to 1681), in Additional MSS. 22,065, and the Johnson and Strafford Papers in Additional MSS. 22,183 to 22,267. This latter collection contains a variety of curious and valuable particulars, both of a public and private nature, respecting the Wentworths. This great family, although it is now more immediately connected with Yorkshire, yet holds lands and estates in several counties, Suffolk being one of them. And we have volumes relating to Aldborough, Friston Hall, Snape, and Bury, from 1554 to 1774.

Among the class of MSS. which may be described as interesting to the literary world in general, are the "Suffolk Papers," presented by the executors of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker to the Trustees of the British Museum in 1858. These consist of five very large folio volumes, numbered from 22,625 to 22,629, and contain the original correspondence of Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, from

1712 to 1767. From the fact that among them there are many original letters from Lord Peterborough, Lord Chesterfield, Dr. Young, Swift, Pope, Mrs. Blount, Lord Chatham, Horace Walpole, and several others of equal or nearly equal celebrity, it may be inferred how valuable and interesting a collection they must form.

Time will not allow me to do more than to mention the fact that, in addition to all the manuscript volumes to which I have already called your attention, there is an immense collection of charters relating to Suffolk in the British Museum, the latest acquired, and perhaps the most important of them being those which are known as the "Fitch Collection."

Thus I have, as briefly as I could, indicated to you some of the sources of information which are available to those who may be able and willing to examine and make use of them themselves. It is, as I am fully aware, no light labour, and a work of no slight responsibility, to undertake and to bring to a successful issue a good county history; but by means of the materials which are ready at hand in our great national depository, and those which have passed by various ways into the possession of private collectors, Suffolk should feel a just pride in reducing into shape and order that which is at present positively an *embarras des richesses*; and from the *rudis indigestaque moles* of information which we possess concerning her, she should raise up a monument which will carry down to posterity the origin and annals of those celebrated families and individuals of whose names she is so justly proud, and place upon record an accurate and lasting account of her ancient towns and manors, and those venerable institutions which render her so remarkable among our other English counties.

ON THE KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

COULD dry bones speak, or spear-blade and arrow-head tell of the war-strife, and the rude potsherd recount how it had served at royal feast and funeral banquet, we might learn somewhat of the nameless chiefs of the nameless races who ruled the district in which our Congress is now assembled, before the incoming of the ICENI.¹ History, like these relics, is mute respecting the ancient days and ancient people who preceded the age of bronze, at the close of which the too confiding Prasutagus and his heroic queen, Bonducia, find a place in chronicle; yet the fearful vengeance which the latter wrought on the Roman ravishers is to this hour indicated by the charred *débris* of the Londinum which she and her infuriated followers sacked and destroyed. But Roman at length triumphed over Celt, and the domains of the Iceni became a portion of Flavia Cæsariensis. For four centuries the Cæsars held sway; but continental disaster compelled the withdrawal of their legions from this island, and thus abandoned its shores to the invasion of fresh hordes of robbers. Then in the fifth century came the mixed tribes of Teutonic barbarians—Jutes, Angles, Saxons—despoiling the Britons of their lands and riches, spreading themselves far and wide, and erecting petty principalities ever warring against each other.²

That of EAST ANGLIA, which is now to engage attention, comprised the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and a part of Bedford. This kingdom was founded in the second half of the sixth century, but by whom historians are by no means agreed. Nennius (§ 59) gives the genealogy of its rulers thus: "Woden begat Casser, who begat Titinon, who begat Trigil, who begat Rodmunt, who begat Rippa, who begat GUILLEM GUERCHA, *who was the first king of the East Angles*; Guercha begat Uffa, who begat Tytillus, who begat Eni, who begat Edric, who begat Aldwulf, who begat Elric." Here, then, GUILLEM GUERCHA is made the founder of the monarchy; but Sir Francis Palgrave considers that this

¹ Read at the Suffolk Congress held at Ipswich.

² See *Journal*, x, 195.

name is but a distortion and corruption of UFFA or WUFFA, who is generally regarded as the first sovereign of the province, commencing his reign at A.D. 575, and, dying in 582, was succeeded by his son TITIL or TYTLA, declared by Henry of Huntingdon (ii) to be "the bravest of the East Anglian kings"; and who, in 599, was followed by his son REDWALD, styled by William of Malmesbury (i, 5) the first king of the East Angles. He was, in truth, the first of their princes who gained much renown, and possessed sufficient power to be hailed *Bretwalda*. Redwald was also the first of the East Anglian rulers who *professed* the Christian faith, for with him it was but a profession; and respecting his conversion from, and relapse into, paganism, Bede (ii, 5) gives the following account. He says the king was "admitted to the Sacrament of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain; for on his return home he was seduced by his wife and certain perverse teachers, and turned back from the sincerity of the faith; and thus his latter state was worse than the former; so that, like the ancient Samaritans, he seemed at the same time to serve Christ and the gods whom he had served before; and in the same temple had an altar to sacrifice to Christ, and another small one to offer victims to devils; which temple Aldwulf, king of that same province, who lived in our time, testifies had stood until his time, and that he had seen it when he was a boy." Redwald had two sons, Eorpwald and Reinhere; the latter dying in the same battle in which Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, was killed in 617, near the river Idle in Nottinghamshire.

EORPWALD, or CARPWALD, succeeded his father in 624, and appears to have been a sincere Christian, abandoning his idols at the instigation of Edwin of Northumbria, and striving to spread the holy faith among his subjects; he was at length slain by a pagan named Richbert or Rigbert, as we are told by Bede (ii, 15) and Florence of Worcester.

The death of Eorpwald, in 627, was followed by an interregnum of three years, at the end of which, in 629, his uterine brother, SIGEBERT, was advanced to the throne. Reared among the Franks, he was enabled to promote civilisation among his rude Teutonic subjects, erecting seminaries for their instruction, and also founding a bishopric for their spiritual welfare at Dommoc, or Dunwich, in 630; Felix the Burgundian being the first prelate who filled the

see, and the recollection of whose dwelling-place is still preserved in the name of the little village of Felixstow on the Suffolk coast. Tired of the world and its vanities, Sigebert renounced the diadem for the cowl in 632, leaving the throne to his cousin ECGRIG, ECGRIC, or EGFRID; but when Penda of Mercia invaded the kingdom, Sigebert was dragged from his monastery in the belief that his presence would inspire the defenders of the province with courage; and he fell in the midst of battle,—not, however, brandishing a deadly blade, but waving a simple wand: hence he is styled a saint by Florence of Worcester and others, and his death commemorated on Sept. 27.

At the same time and place perished his kinsman Ecgric, the crown passing, in the year 635, to ANNA, son of Eni, the brother of Redwald the Bretwalda. Among other acts of Anna recorded by Bede (iii, 19) one is that he erected a stately monastery at Cnobheresburg (*i.e.* Cnobher's town), now known as Burgh Castle, Suffolk. This monarch, with his son Firminus, was killed in a battle fought at Bullcamp, near Dunwich, with Penda of Mercia, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* placing the event *sub anno* 654. Anna had four daughters, whose pure and holy lives have gained for them an undying renown, viz. St. Sexburga, wife of Earcombert, king of Kent; St. Ethelburga, abbess of Brie in France; St. Etheldreda, wife of Egfrid, king of Northumbria; and St. Withburga, the foundress of the nunnery of East Dereham in Norfolk. These ladies' uterine sister, Sethrid, was also a saint and abbess of Brie.

ETHELHERE, or ETHELRIC, succeeded his brother Anna in 654, and Bede (iv, 23) and Florence of Worcester (*sub* 664) state that he had for wife *Hereswith*, or *Hereswid*, the sister of St. Hilda, whose parents were Hereric and Bregusuit. We also learn from Bede (iii, 24) that Ethelhere, like his immediate predecessors, was killed in battle; his foe being Osway, king of Northumbria, and the place of slaughter near the river Vinwed, or Winwidfield, no great distance from Leeds.

ADELWALD, or ETHELWALD, brother to the last two kings, ascended the throne in 655; and Bede (iii, 22) tells us that at his royal seat at Rendlesham (*i.e.* Rendil's mansion), Suffolk, he stood sponsor to Suidhelm, king of the East Saxons.

ADULF, ALDULF, ALDWULF, or ARDULPH, son of Ethelhere

and Hereswitha, succeeded his uncle Ethelwald in 664, but scarcely anything is known about him except that he was present at the Council of Heathfield or Hatfield in Hertfordshire, A.D. 680, as may be gathered from Bede (iv. 17).

ELWOLD, ELFWOLD, or ALPHWALD, became King of East Anglia on the death of his brother Adulf in 683, and, after a reign of 66 years, departed this life in 749.

BEORNA (whom William of Malmesbury [i. 5] calls *Bern-red*) and ETHELBERT I, are believed to have held the sovereignty conjointly from the year 749, until the death of the latter in 758, when Beorna reigned alone, and was the first of the East Anglian princes who issued money. His pennies (which are very rare) resemble *sceattas*, and bear on the *obv.* a circle with central pellet, and the words BEORNNA REX: the *rev.* presenting a cross within a square, and the moneyer's name EFE. Beorna died in 761.

ETHELRED, whom Heylyn and some others style *St. Etheldred*, appears in the lists of East Anglian monarchs under the year 761; and, according to Florence of Worcester, married a lady named *Leofruna*, by whom he became the father of St. Ethelbert. He was killed in 790.

ST. ETHELBRYHT, or ETHELBERT II, succeeded his father in 790, and his death in 792 has rendered him more renowned than any act of his life. Going to the court of Offa of Mercia to treat of a marriage with that king's daughter, he was basely slain at Sutton Wallis, about four miles from Hereford, through the malice of Offa's queen, Quendreda. Ethelbert was beheaded, and then privately interred at Marden, but his place of burial is recorded to have been miraculously manifested by a luminous pillar appearing over it. The martyr's body was afterwards exhumed, and translated to Hereford, where it is said to have worked many miracles, so that the cathedral, as also the church of Marden, was dedicated to his honour. Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, in his will, dated March 24, 1515, directs that his corpse be laid in his cathedral at the feet of the image of St. Ethelbert. The site of Mayo's grave is well known, and behind it is an empty bracket, on which once rested the effigy referred to in the will. Some forty years since an image was dug up at the entrance of Our Lady's Chapel, now used as a library, and which seems to be the one which stood on the void pedestal. It is of stone,

about five feet in height, the brow encircled by an open crown or coronet, and the body clothed in a long tunic. It has been richly decorated with gold and colours, armorial bearings and inscriptions being still faintly discernible on the drapery. It appears to be the work of the fourteenth century.

Beside the cathedral of Hereford and church of Marden, there are several other churches dedicated to St. Ethelbert; there is one at Little Dean, Gloucestershire, six in Norfolk, and three in Suffolk. The church of Tannington, in the latter county, bears the names of St. Mary and St. Ethelbert, and that at Belchamp Otton, Essex, of St. Ethelbert and All Saints. The martyrdom of St. Ethelbert was commemorated on May 20.

Florence of Worcester, after speaking of the slaughter of St. Ethelbert, adds, "Thenceforth, for sixty-one years, very few powerful kings reigned in East Anglia, until St. Edmund, the last of them, ascended the throne." If legend may supply the place of history, among the kings who reigned during these sixty-one years, there was a prince named OFFA, who is said to have been the immediate predecessor of St. Edmund. The story goes that Offa, having no issue, resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to supplicate the blessing of an heir, and on his way hither paid a visit to his kinsman Alkmund, King of Saxony, whose queen, Siware, had in the year 841 given birth to a boy who, in after times, became renowned as St. Edmund. Offa on his road homeward was seized with mortal illness at a place called St. George's Arm, or Port St. George, but before his death he nominated young Edmund as his successor to the throne of East Anglia, and sent him his royal signet as a token of his appointment.¹ This legend must be taken *cum grano salis*, but it is worth consideration if a few of the pennies attributed to Offa, King of Mercia, may not have been struck by this prince, if such a prince really filled the throne of the Uffans in the middle of the ninth century.²

ST. EDMUND'S accession to sovereign power is thus recorded by Asser in his *Life of Alfred*: "In the year of our

¹ See the Rev. R. Yates's *History of Bury St. Edmunds*.

² The Offa penny in Ruding, pl. 5, fig. 27, is more like the East Anglian than Mercian coins in character.

Lord's incarnation 855, Edmund, the most glorious king of the East Angles, began to reign on the eighth day before the Kalends of January, *i.e.*, on the birth-day of our Lord, in the fourteenth year of his age." And, *sub anno* 856, we read : "Humbert, bishop of the East Angles, anointed with oil, and consecrated as king the glorious Edmund, with much rejoicing and great honour, in the royal town called Burva, in which at that time was the royal seat, in the fifteenth year of his age, on a Friday, the twenty-fourth moon, being Christmas-day." From this period we know little respecting the youthful monarch until the year 870, when he is first mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Speaking of the Danes, it is said : "The army rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford ; and the same winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Hinguar and Hubba." The battle here recorded was fought at Seven Hills near Thetford, after which Edmund fled to Framlingham, and thence to Hoxne, where he fell into the hands of the victors, who however offered him life on condition of renouncing the Christian faith. Edmund refusing to do this was bound to a tree, beat with clubs, and then shot at with arrows. Tradition had long pointed out "*St. Edmund's Oak*" in Hoxne Wood as the site of the king's martyrdom, and when this venerable relic fell down in September 1848, there was found deeply imbedded in its trunk an iron cusp, believed to be one of the actual arrow blades directed by the Danes against the royal victim. After being shot at, the king was finally dispatched by decapitation. When the Danes departed from the spot, the East Anglians sought for the remains of the murdered prince, and soon found his mangled body, but his head was no where to be seen. After forty days' search it was at length discovered in the woods of Eglesden safely guarded by a wolf, who held it between its fore-paws, and who, as soon as he had resigned his charge uninjured, retired into the wood. This circumstance, with the king's martyrdom, is noted in the arms of Bury St. Edmund, which are three crowns (said to be the ensign of East Anglia) transfixed with arrows, and having

for crest a wolf holding the king's head between its fore-paws. The legend states that the head being placed on the trunk instantly united with it, so that nothing was visible but a thin line "*like a purple thread*." The martyr's corpse was then interred in a wooden chapel at Hoxne, and after a rest of thirty-three years was in 903 translated to a larger church at Bedrickesworth, or as it is now called Bury St. Edmund's. About seventeen years later, *i.e.*, in 1010, when the Danes overran the province, the monks of Bury brought the saint's shrine to London, where a church in Lombard-street is still dedicated to his honour. On the road from Suffolk to Middlesex the monks halted at Greenstead in Essex, and the little wooden church, which held all that was mortal of St. Edmund at that place is described and delineated in our *Journal* (v,1) the engraving forming an interesting illustration of a peculiar ecclesiastical structure.

The shrine of St. Edmund at Bury became a place of pilgrimage. Here, on his return from the Holy Land, Richard I offered the rich standard of Isaac king of Cyprus; and in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund* (Harl. MSS. 2278) is a picture of Henry VI, in 1433, devoutly kneeling at the shrine.¹ According to the visitors' account of Bury St. Edmund they found, among "*muche vanitie and superstition, the paring of St. Edmund's naylles*"; and these parings were for ages exhibited to the pilgrims, and obtained, if you credit the legend, by a pious lady named Oswyn, who declared that for years after the king's death she annually clipped the martyr's hair and nails, preserving every fragment with religious care. The original resting-place of the corpse of St. Edmund, at Hoxne, was also regarded as a sacred spot. Here was an image of the royal martyr; and in 1307, Gilbert Bishop of Orkney (a suffragan of the see of Norwich) granted an indulgence of forty days' pardon to all persons of the diocese who should make a pilgrimage to it, or bequeath legacies, or offer gifts to the said effigy.² Representations of St. Edmund are frequently found in East Anglian churches, both in sculpture and painting. When bound to a tree he may be readily distinguished from St. Sebastian by the crown and royal array, and at other times may be known by an arrow, or a bundle of arrows, in his hand.

¹ For an engraving of this shrine, see *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1822.

² Blomesfield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, ii, 432.

The martyrdom of St. Edmund was celebrated on Nov. 20; and the high esteem in which he is held is proved by the fact that no less than fifty-five churches are dedicated to him, fifteen of them being in Norfolk, and seven in Suffolk.

Among other memorials of St. Edmund must be included his money, which consists of pence with a large A, or a cross with pellets or crescents on the *obv.*, and a cross and pellets on the *rev.* His name and title are given as EADMVND REX A; and his moneyers were, Aethelhel, Baelhel, Beghelm, Beornferth, Dudda, Eadmund, Eadpnal, Ethelnel, Ethelwolf, Silered, and Twigca. Beside these coins, there are others bearing the monarch's name, and known as "St. Edmund's pence"; believed to have been minted in the tenth century, at the monastery of Bury. The *obv.* has the great A, and the words SCE EADMVND RE, or an abbreviation of them; the *rev.* displays a plain cross, and the names of such moneyers as Adalberte, Adolre, Culgrio, Daiemond, Degemund, Eldecar, Elismus, Ersalt, Siemund, Sixwrne, etc.

After the martyrdom of St. Edmund the crown of East Anglia devolved by right to his brother, St. Edwold; who, however, refusing to bear its burden, retired to a cell near Shaftesbury, and there closed a life of holiness in the year 871. His body was afterwards translated to the abbey church of Cerne, and his festival henceforth celebrated on the 28th of Nov. One church, that of Stokewood, Dorset, is dedicated to St. Edwold.

It is uncertain if any member of the house of Uffa occupied the throne subsequently to the slaughter of King Edmund; but there are pennies of a prince named ETHELWARD so like those of the martyr in design and fabric, that it is conjectured he reigned in East Anglia about this period. These coins have on the *obv.* a large A, or else a cross with a crescent between each limb, the legend reading ETHELWARD or AETHELWARD REX. On the *rev.* is a cross with pellets, and the names of the moneyers, Aethelnel, Dudda, Eadmund, and Raexenhebe.

Amid the obscurity and confusion of East Anglian history in the ninth century there stands out a Danish chieftain of far higher renown than his fellows, the Pagan GOTHURM, or GURMUND, the Christian ATELSTAN. He is first brought to notice in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *sub anno* 875, where we read that "the three kings, Gothrum, Oskytel, and Amoind,

went with a large army from Repton to Cambridge, and sat down there one year." Again, under 878, after speaking of the defeat of the Danes, at Heddington, by Alfred, the narrative goes on to say: "And then the army delivered to him hostages, with many oaths, that they would leave his kingdom, and also promised him that their king should receive baptism; and this they accordingly fulfilled. And about three weeks after this, King Gothrum came to him, with some thirty men who were of the most distinguished in the army, at Aller, which is near Athelney; and the king was his godfather at baptism, and his chrism-loosing was at Wedmore; and he was twelve days with the king, and he greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts." This account agrees perfectly with that given by Asser in his *Life of Alfred*, *sub anno* 878.

Gothrum, or, as we ought now to call him, Athelstan, issued a dozen or more varieties of the penny. On the *obv.* we find the letter A, or a cross, and a cross is also the usual device on the *rev.* His name is indifferently spelled ÆTHILSTAN, ETHELSTAN, and ETHELSTANI; and his moneyers were Eadgar, Eadnod or Eadnoth, Orthel, Rernher, and Torhthel. The death of Athelstan is thus noticed in the chronicle of Fabius Ethelwerd, *s. a.* 889: "Gothrum, king of the northern English, yielded his breath to Orcus. He had taken the name of Athelstan, as he came out of the baptismal laver, from his godfather, King Alfred; and had his seat among the East Angles, since he there also held the first station." The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives his death as one year later, *i. e.* in 890, and records that "he abode in East Anglia, and first settled that country." Florence of Worcester gives twelve years as the duration of his reign, and states that his rule extended "over nearly all Essex." This prince is said to have been buried in the church of Hadleigh, Suffolk.

EOHRIC (Eric), another Danish chieftain, succeeded Gothrum on the East Anglian throne, as we learn from Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury (*i.* 5); the latter further telling us that, after he had reigned fourteen years, he was taken off by the Angles because he conducted himself with cruelty towards them. This king's rule would, therefore, appear to extend from about 890 to 904; and Fabius Ethelwerd gives the following version of his death, *s. a.* 902: "After two years was the battle of Holme. Five

days after the festival of the Blessed Mother they lock together their shields, brandish their swords, and vibrate their lances in both hands. There fell Duke Siwulf and Sigelm and almost all the Kentish nobility, and Eohric, king of the barbarians. These descended to Orcus." This account of the death of Eohric agrees closely with that given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 905.

The cruel Eohric fell, but the devoted people still groaned beneath the oppression of the Danish chieftains until Edward the Elder, son of the great Alfred, expelled the foes from East Anglia, and added the province to his own West Saxon dominions in the year 921, as stated by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though Florence of Worcester assigns the event to 918.

Henceforward the once independent kingdom of the Uffans shared, in a great measure, the fortunes of the rest of the country. There were, indeed, *Ealdormen* of East Anglia subject to the chief monarch of England; but this title ceased in the eleventh century, when Teutonic perfidy culminated in the person of the perjured usurper Harold, and the long-delayed vengeance of Britons and *Bretons* triumphed on the ever-glorious field of Hastings. As the tribes of the stone period succumbed to the Icenian hosts, so those hosts fell before the legions of imperial Rome. The Romanised Britons, in their turn, were vanquished and subdued by the savage hordes from Germany and the north, who for generations plundered and oppressed the nation, and seemed to root their power so strongly in the island that nothing could overturn it. But the cycle of their iniquity was complete, the hour of retribution at length arrived, and the haughty barons of France, led by the grandson of the tanner of Falaise, annihilated the Saxon domination so utterly that all that is now high and noble in the land, not only in *title*, but in *blood*, is due to these Norman victors.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

WHEN the British Archæological Association visited this town on the 9th of August in the past year (1864), they were first assembled at the railway station, close to which is the ancient mound or hill formerly known as the Thing-hoe immediately outside of the town. The members then passed by Moyses Hall, and reassembled at the Guildhall, nearly in the centre of the place. They afterwards proceeded to view the buildings of the monastery, which formed the chief subject for examination. The first part of it to which they were conducted was St. Mary's Church, from which they went to the Norman gateway, the most ancient existing gate tower of the monastic precinct. From it was viewed the west end of the once stupendous abbey church; close by St. James's Church was next inspected; then another of the abbey gates, commonly known now as "the Abbey Gate." Entering the precinct by this gate, the members passed through the outer court of the abbey to the abbot's palace, and studied the remains of the mint, the hospitium, the refectory and cloister, concluding the circuit within the great abbey church. The two abbey gates, and the two churches of St. Mary and St. James are well preserved and really magnificent buildings, yet in a historical description of the monastery much greater space must be devoted to portions whose present appearance is less imposing, and whose former magnitude dwarfed into absolute insignificance what now attracts so much admiration. The immense abbey church was conspicuous above the domestic conventual offices, which, on a scale of magnitude not surpassed in England, enveloped its north side, and the numerous chapels grouped in the cemetery on its south side. Of the abbey church, the conventual offices, and most of the chapels, so little remains that only a close study of their history can recal their ancient dignity. In the essay which follows, a few remarks will first be made upon the Thing-hoe, the building called Moyses Hall, and the

Guildhall, and then the rise and progress of the monastic buildings will be traced.

On the west side of the road leading from the ancient north gate of the town to Fornham, and nearly opposite the remains of St. Saviour's Hospital, is a mound clothed with trees, and known as Betty Burrough's hill. This name is derived from the notoriety of a criminal executed there in modern times. In remote antiquity it was the Thing-hoe, or Hill of the Council, and under this name, as Mr. Gage Rokewood has shown,¹ such a mound was known at the time of the Domesday survey and later. In the time of the Conqueror it is mentioned in a legend of a miracle of St. Edmund which had been handed down, and was then recorded by Herman, a monk of St. Edmund's—Leofstan the sheriff: "Die Kalendarum Maiarum placitatur aderat cuidam acervo quem Thinhogo solite vocat populi frequens appellatio."² That the Thing-hoe was without the north gate of the town is clear from an allusion to it in describing a certain piece of land let by the monastery at five pence per annum to William Brown in a Book of the Customs of the Monastery: "Extra portam boreal' de Willō Brun p. terra que abbutat sup. Thinghowe et Teyvene."³ The Tayven, or Tey Fen meadows without the north gate retain that name to the present day, and to the north of them is the mound in question. Although the ancient name has long fallen out of popular use with respect to the mound itself, the hundred which contains it is called Thingoe hundred now.

When public attention was lately fixed on Danish affairs, the great councils of that kingdom and of Norway were continually before us, and every day we heard of the resolutions of the two bodies of the Danish parliament, the "lands-thing" and the "volks-thing," with the proceedings of the "stor-thing" in Norway, recalling the fact that the progenitors of the Danes and Northmen were kinsmen of the old inhabitants of Suffolk. A still closer link between the past and the present is to be found within the dominions of our own Queen, for we have one "thing-hoe" at least, where still in its ancient simple mode the annual council of the district is held. In the Isle of Man, on the

¹ Gage's *Thingoe Hundred*, introd., pp. x, xi, xii.

² Hermann, fol. 23.

³ Registrum Werketone, f 3, v.

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6th of July in each year, the Governor assembles the whole of the dignitaries and officers of his government at a mound called the Tynwald (Thing-wald), where, himself on the summit, and the others ranged in three circles lower down its sides, he promulgates the acts of his island parliament, which, without this confirmation, have no force. The Tynwald, once probably, as its name implies, in a wood, is situated at the meeting of the roads from Peel, Douglas, and Castleton, the three chief places of the island.

The assembly at the Thing-hoe in Suffolk seems to have had nothing to do with the existence of a town. Bury St. Edmunds owes its origin to the foundation of a monastery by Sigbert, King of the East Angles, and Felix his bishop, about the beginning of the seventh century, and its increase and celebrity to the acquisition by that monastery of the supposed relics of King Edmund about two hundred years after. In the twelfth century the monastery had attained the height of its power, had established its buildings, and enclosed them within limits which remain defined to the present day, and had created a town which, in extent and in the disposition of its streets, has undergone but little change. The monastery was placed on the west side of a small river, and enclosed within a parallelogram, the town was arranged in a rather regular manner, enveloping the north, south, and west sides of the monastery, like the letter E, the main streets meeting one another so as to follow the same form. In one of the Registers¹ of the monastery an account of its property within the town furnishes the names of twenty streets as applied in the fourteenth century, which names are still in use. In the manuscript they are thus written: Estgate-strete, Westgate-strete, Rysby-gate, Northgatestre, Mustowe, Lytle-brakelonde, Chyrchgate-strete, Fforum Sci Edmundi, Cornemarket, Reym-strete, Scholhale-stret, Sparhauke-strete, Teyven, Gilda Aula sive vicus de Gildhal-strete, Wytyng-strete, Maydewater-strete, Baxter-strete, Skynneres-rowe, Longa Brakland, and Suthgate-strete. Other ancient street names in the same MS., some of which may possibly be recognised by those intimate with the locality are, Hezestrete or Hystrete, Cryspene-lane, Bolax-strete, Carpenters' and Lorimers'-streets; and Goldsmiths'-street or row, Cordwainers'-

¹ Regist. Cellerar.

street, Poulterers'-row, Glovers'-street, Vicus Francorum, Heathenman-street, otherwise Jews'-street, Ratonneraw (*Rotten-row* ?), and Wall-street.

The name of Heathenman-street, or Jews'-street, is suggestive of the neighbourhood of Moyses Hall, which has also been called the Jews' House, one of the most ancient specimens of a citizen's house in the kingdom. It is on the north side of the market-place, and is now occupied as a police-station and lock-up. These uses are unfavourable to a close architectural survey of the building, but it has been so well described in T. H. Turner's *Domestic Architecture*, as to demand no more here than a general description. It is an oblong in plan; the ground story vaulted over and divided into two parts by a longitudinal wall, had originally no windows. The upper story was well lighted by Norman windows, finished outside with shafts to the jambs, and well moulded. The character of the work belongs to the middle of the twelfth century.

The Guildhall, situated in the street which is named from it, has now only one architectural feature of interest. Its entrance-door is well moulded, and carved with the dog-tooth ornament; it is a pointed work of about A.D. 1230. In the interior of the building there is nothing in sight older than the age of Queen Elizabeth, but the walls are concealed by very modern works, which render it highly probable that at some future time a clearance might expose a greater proportion of the most ancient work. The Guildhall formed the head-quarters of the rioters, who in 1326 held possession for a considerable time of the town and abbey.¹ It continued to be used by the principal guilds of the borough, till a burgess and munificent benefactor of the town gave it, late in the reign of Edward IV, to the Corporation. A reputed portrait of this worthy burgess, John (familiarily called Jankyn) Smith, hangs in the Guildhall. His title to our gratitude will be still more apparent when we have described the important additions he made to St. Mary's Church.

In the first half of the seventh century,² Sigbert, king of the East Angles, retired to a monastery which he had built. Thomas of Ely declares that this monastery was at Betriches-

¹ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 116 *et seq.*

² Bede, *Ecl. Hist.*, lib. ii, c. 18.

werde, or Beodricsworth,¹ which identifies the place with that afterwards famous as Bury St. Edmunds. Abbo Floriacensis, in his life of St. Edmund, gives an account of the foundation of the church in which that saint rested,—“in villa regia quæ lingua Anglorum Bedricesgueord dicitur, Latina vero Bedrici curtis vocatur.”² Abbo wrote about A.D. 985. Hermann, the archdeacon, whose work is at least a hundred years later, calls the place “Beodrici villa.”³ Succeeding writers put this into the form, “Beodricsweorth”;⁴ but in common use the name, shortly after Hermann’s time, was Burgh St. Edmunds.

Abbo Floriacensis is at the pains to tell us the signification of Beodricsweorth, as quoted above. Roger of Wendover⁵ copies from him, and Matthew of Westminster copies Roger; and from Matthew a host of dictionaries of learning and authority tell us that *weorth* signifies a court, street, or farm. As to the meaning of the first part of the name, Yates⁶ consulted Sir Henry Ellis and Sharon Turner, according to whom it may be interpreted, *rice*, power, *bede* in prayer. Suppose, however, that Abbo, the first of these interpreters, was himself wrongly informed. A foreigner and abbot of a French monastery, he had no acquaintance with the English or Saxon language, and candidly tells us so in his preface: however, he adds that he had the aid of two persons who did understand it. If his second-hand knowledge is doubtful, all the later interpreters are wrong in their reliance upon him. Some topographical observation and inquiry will show that, in a remarkable number of instances, a *weorth* or *worth* is a place situated at the junction of two rivers, or a strip of land ending in a tongue, and lying between two fens or marshes where they unite: thus, concerning a neighbouring town, Halesworth, it is said,⁷—“This town, though usually considered to be situated on the Blythe, appears rather seated on a contributory stream of that river, which, rising from several heads in the adjacent parishes, receives their united waters just above Halesworth Bridge, and forms its northern arm.” In Germany the corresponding termination is similarly used: witness, Donauwert on the Danube, at its conflux with the Weinitz; Kaiser-

¹ Battely.² Abbo, f. 14.³ Hermann, f. 77.⁴ Matthew of Westminster at A.D. 870. He lived in the fourteenth century.⁵ Roger of Wendover. He died in 1237.⁶ Yates, p. 6.⁷ Lewis' *Topog. Dict.*

wert on the Rhine, at its junction with the Rur; Wertheim on the Main, in Franconia, at its conflux with the Tauber. Beodricsweorth, like all these places, is at the junction of two streams, now known as the Lark and the Linnet, but in Leland's time called Ulnoth's River. One author who supports this topographical theory, is J. O. Halliwell in his *Dictionary of Archaisms and Provincialisms*; whence he derived the notion, however, does not appear. Then as to Beodric, the first part of the name, in the hands of Abbo and the succeeding Latin writers, may not this be merely a transformation of *byrig* or *burgh*, and therefore the name Burgh St. Edmunds be in part only a continuation of the earlier name?

No account has reached us descriptive of Sigbert's monastery; the history of the monastic buildings of Beodricsworth, therefore, commences with the arrival there, in A.D. 903, of the reputed relics of St. Edmund. The original account is preserved in Abbo Floriacensis. Slain in a fight with the Danes, his body had been miraculously discovered after it had been decapitated and mangled by his enemies: it had then remained for thirty-three years in an uncorrupted state till now, when a multitude, not only of the common people, but of the nobles, constructed for it a very large church of planked wood at Beodricsworth.¹ Here it remained till about 1010, when further ravages of the Danes caused the body to be removed to London for three years.²

As soon as Canute had established the Danish rule in England, he gave his attention to ecclesiastical affairs. A college of secular priests was found at Beodricsworth, in charge of the church which held St. Edmund.³ Under the Benedictine rule, introduced in the previous century into England by St. Dunstan, from its superior discipline and organisation, the monks not only became more apt depositaries of learning, but gained the reputation of greater religious zeal than the priests and canons. Ailwin, a monk, was now bishop of the diocese; and, with the consent of Canute, he displaced the priests at Beodricsworth, and handed the establishment over to twelve Benedictine monks from Hulme, with others from Ely, under one Uvius for abbot. This was in 1020.⁴ In the next year he laid

¹ Abbo Floriacensis, f. 14.

² Battely, p. 30.

³ Leland, *Collect.*, vol. i, p. 248.

⁴ *Chronica Johannis de Oxanedes* at A.D. 1020; and *Regist. Cellerarii*, f. 161.

the foundation of a new church for them, which was consecrated by Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, on St. Luke's day in 1032, in honour of St. Mary, the mother of God, and of St. Edmund. The joint dedication has led to a notion that this church superseded the older one of Sigbert's foundation; but the sequel will show that the first church continued to stand not far from the new one.

The great improvements in church building introduced in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, caused Ailwin's church in a few years to be esteemed too mean for the honour of the relics it held. Uvius, the first abbot, had died in A.D. 1045;¹ Leofstan, his successor, died in 1065;² the third abbot was Baldwin, who came from the great French monastery of St. Denis, and obtained the cooperation of William the Conqueror for the rebuilding of his monastery. One of the monastic registers records circumstantially that, under Baldwin, the sacrists Thurstan and Tolin levelled to the ground the old wooden church ("*ecclesia lignea et vetus*"), and laid the foundation of the new one.³ This account of the commencement of Baldwin's church has been universally adopted, and yet a close investigation shows that the monkish author of the history of the sacrists, the architects of the monastery, was not properly acquainted with the circumstances. Ailwin's church was not of wood, and was not pulled down at this time. Hermann, the archdeacon, who was contemporary with Abbot Baldwin, says that it remained to his day, and that the new one was built because Ailwin's was of more simplicity than suited the later time;⁴ but says not one word of pulling it down. Hermann even speaks of it as a church older than Canute's time; but expressly says that he and his queen, Emma, restored it in stone.⁵ It is worth considering whether some of the so-called wooden churches were not thus described merely to designate their meanness as compared with the churches vaulted with stone; whether, in fact, we are not often to understand of a wooden church, merely that its covering was of timber framing alone. As to the

Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1032; Joh. de Oxanedes, A.D. 1032; and *Regist. Sacristiarum*, f. 23, b.

¹ *Regist. Rubeum*, f. 65.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Lib. Alb.*, f. 114.

⁴ Hermann, f. 77. "*Hæc quoque simplici facta scemate non sic artificialis ut quedam construuntur hoc tempore.*"

⁵ Hermann. *Ibid.*

preservation of Ailwin's church at the time of Baldwin's work, not only is Hermann's account, already given, presumptive evidence in favour of it, but he also furnishes a piece of testimony which shows clearly that it could not have been wholly removed till after Baldwin's structure was sufficiently advanced to receive its venerated deposits. He relates with much detail the ceremony of the translation of the body of St. Edmund, in A.D. 1095, from the old to the new church; and tells us that the procession left the old church, bearing the shrine of the saint, by the south door.¹ From this we also learn that the old church of Ailwin stood to the north of Baldwin's. The further history of Baldwin's church indicates still more closely the position which this one of Ailwin's held, and shews that some part of it was long preserved. Baldwin's may properly be considered the second church of St. Edmund, and to it attention must now be directed.

ST. EDMUND'S, OR THE ABBEY CHURCH.—In the second church of St. Edmund we speak of that church which, in all its principal dimensions, is still traceable. Unfortunately the remains have been divested of almost every piece of cut stone, so that the only architectural features which it presents are parts of the bases of the north-east pier of the central tower, and of the choir-pier next to it (of Norman work), and two arches of Early English work near the west end of the north wall of the nave. A wall which, in the fifteenth century, was built up within the south wall of the nave, has impressed upon it the form of a Norman arch and its mouldings, which belonged to that wall of the nave; we therefore know the church to have been completed almost to its whole length in the Norman period. Of the nave, the core of the walls of its west front remains, from thirty to fifty feet in height. Three arches, smaller than those of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral, and larger than the corresponding features at Lincoln Cathedral, formed a front to the nave and its north and south aisles. Each aisle is flanked by a chapel, the west end of which forms a further extension to the west front of the church. The rude walls left do not offer a suggestion as to the architectural features of this part of them. In position they resemble a pair of chapels similarly attached at the sides of the west end of

¹ Hermann, f. 78 to 80 b.

Lincoln Cathedral. At Bury, however, these appendages are again outflanked by two octagon towers, giving to the west end of the church a vastness of dimension with which no other church or cathedral in England, so far as known, could have competed. This once magnificent work is now not only reduced to a fragment of the roughest part of the walls of its base, but is disfigured by dwelling-houses which have been crowded into the church along the whole breadth of the west front, blocking up its arches, and filling them with doors and windows which, not long since, were all of the meanest character. In the attempt to relieve the venerable fragments from this depth of contemptuous treatment, a mistaken notion has lately led to the production of a series of Norman windows executed in *cement* in the south octagon tower and front of the adjoining chapel,—a perversion of taste which has been avoided in the new stone windows of the house in the northern part.

Behind the western wall fragments of the side-walls of the chapels exist in a corresponding state of dilapidation. In the well-kept garden of Mr. Green appear the foundations of three of the pillars of the north arcadé of the nave and one of the south, with a fragment of the wall of the north aisle. Further east, in another garden, are the yet lofty fragments of the core of the four great piers of the central tower; similarly rude and lofty remains of the end of the north transept, and of one column in that transept, with bits of two other columns there, and of three in the south transept. There are also found here low fragments of the eastern walls of the transepts, and of the external wall of the choir, showing its eastern chapels very distinctly; and lastly there appear parts of the bases of the two western pillars of the choir. All of these portions, with such pains as could be applied, have been now measured, and laid down in plan (plate 1), adding to them the two apsidal chapels of the transepts dug out in 1772, and drawn by Mr. Edward King.¹ Thus an almost complete plan of the church can still be traced. To convey an idea of the amazing magnitude of its dimensions, it may be compared with the fine churches of Buildwas Abbey, Lilleshall Abbey, and Wenlock

¹ Plans of the church have been previously drawn by Sir James Burrough in 1718, engraved in Battely's *Antiquitates* by Mr. Edward King, engraved in vol. iii of the *Archæologia*, and by Mr. W. Yates, in 1802, engraved in the Rev. Richard Yates's *History*.

Monks Dormitory
over

CHAPTER HOUSE

stry

LADY CHAPEL

St
Saba

Choir
Altar

Abbot
Baldwins
Tomb

PRESBYTERY

High
Altar

St Edmund's
Shrine

St Mary

St
Crosa

Priory, whose plans are drawn in the *Journal and Col-lectanea* of the British Archæological Association.¹ The plans of the first two are to the same scale as that now used for St. Edmund's Church. Byland, the largest in its original dimensions of the abbey churches in Yorkshire, measures 333 feet long within the walls; Fountains', originally of smaller size, by a magnificent extension at its east end, is 359 feet long inside; St. Cuthbert's Cathedral at Durham, with an almost identical eastern addition, is 414 feet long; St. Edmund's Church at Bury, measured in a similar manner within its main walls, and omitting the subordinate eastern excrescence, is 472 feet in length. As a Norman edifice it far surpassed in size any other church or cathedral in the kingdom of that era. Those churches or cathedrals which, by subordinate chapels and other additions in later times, have challenged the supremacy of its magnitude, are,² Winchester, 545 feet long inside; Canterbury, 514 feet; Salisbury, 474 feet; Westminster, 489 feet. The only churches which, comparing them with St. Edmund's, have superior size, without excrescences or extraneous additions, are,—York and Lincoln, each 498 feet long; Ely, 517 feet long; Peterborough, 480 feet; and St. Albans.

In the MSS. of the Abbey are preserved records, not only of the progress to completion of the main fabric of St. Edmund's Church, but much scattered information as to its subordinate parts, its ritual arrangements, and its ornaments and furniture. To digest this matter, and place it in an intelligible form, is the next purpose in hand. It will be a convenient preface to reproduce at this place a list of the abbots complete, as it is already in many printed authorities:

1.—A.D. 1020. UVIUS, who came with the first Benedictines from Hulme.

2.—A.D. 1045. LEOFSTAN succeeded.

3.—A.D. 1065. BALDWIN, originally a monk of St. Denis at Paris. He was skilled in medicine, and physician to King Edward the Confessor. He died in 1097.

¹ Buildwas and Wenlock, see *Col. Archæol.*, 1862. Lilleshall: *Journal*, 1861.

² The dimensions preceding are taken by the author, those which follow are from Gwilt's *Encyclopædia of Architecture*. Winchester, reduced at the east end to its ancient apse, would be 445 feet; Canterbury about 414 feet; Salisbury, without the Lady Chapel, 404 feet; Westminster, without the same appendage, 390 feet. St. Albans, the largest English church not a cathedral, is about 490 feet long without the Lady Chapel; but, as a Norman church, was less than 400.

4.—A.D. 1100. ROBERT, son of Hugh, Earl of Chester, was elected, but deposed in 1102 for invalid election. A vacancy followed till—

5.—A.D. 1107. ROBERT, also of St. Denis, ruled till his death in 1112. A vacancy followed.

6.—A.D. 1114. ALBOLD, a monk of Bec, was elected. Died 1120.

7.—A.D. 1120. ANSELM, who had been abbot of St. Saba at Rome. Was elected to the see of London in 1136; but, not being confirmed, returned in 1138 to his abbey.

8.—A.D. 1148. ORDING, who had been prior, was elected abbot in 1136, but gave way to Anselm on his return, and was again elected abbot in 1148, at Anselm's death.

9.—A.D. 1157. HUGH, prior of Westminster, elected.

10.—A.D. 1182. SAMPSON, subsacrist of the monastery, chosen abbot. He died in 1211 or 1212.

11.—A.D. 1215. HUGH DE NORTHWOLD became abbot, and in 1229 was raised to the see of Ely.

12.—A.D. 1229. RICHARD OF ELY.

13.—A.D. 1234. HENRY, prior of the convent, elected abbot.

14.—A.D. 1248. EDMUND DE WALPOLE elected abbot only two years after taking the habit.

15.—A.D. 1257. SIMON DE LUTON became abbot.

16.—A.D. 1279. JOHN DE NORTHWOLD, hostillar of the monastery, became abbot.

17.—A.D. 1301 or 1302. THOMAS DE TOTYNGTON, the sub-prior, elected abbot.

18.—A.D. 1312. THOMAS DE DRAUGHTON elected.

19.—A.D. 1335. WILLIAM DE BERNHAM, sub-prior, elected.

20.—A.D. 1361. JOHN DE BRINKELE succeeded. After his death, in 1378 or 1379, a disputed election caused a vacancy till

21.—A.D. 1384. JOHN DE TYMWORTH was acknowledged.

22.—A.D. 1390. WILLIAM DE CRATFIELD became abbot.

23.—A.D. 1415. WILLIAM DE EXETER became abbot.

24.—A.D. 1429. WILLIAM CURTEYS elected.

25.—A.D. 1446. WILLIAM BABYNGTON chosen.

26.—A.D. 1453. JOHN BOON succeeded.

27.—A.D. 1469. ROBERT DE IXWORTH followed.

28.—A.D. 1474. RICHARD HINGHAM succeeded.

29.—A.D. 1479. THOMAS RATTLEDEN followed.

30.—A.D. 1497. WILLIAM CODENHAM succeeded.

31.—A.D. 1511. WILLIAM BUNTING occurs as abbot.

32.—A.D. 1520. JOHN MELFORD, *alias* REEVES, became abbot. He surrendered the monastery at the suppression in 1539, and died the following year.

Abbot Baldwin procured from William the Conqueror a mandate¹ commanding the abbot of Peterborough to permit him to bring stone for the use of his church from Barnack in Northamptonshire. How extensively he and his successors availed themselves of this privilege, is shown by the appearance of that stone in almost every part of Bury; for very few of its buildings, as they now appear, have failed to profit thus by the spoils of the monastery. The solid part of Baldwin's work is constructed of flint, the facing and ornamental part was of the Barnack oolite. His sacrists (first Thurstan and then Tolin) had charge of the work.² But little progress was made in the Conqueror's reign; and it was not till the seventh³ year of William Rufus that the presbytery was sufficiently advanced to enable him to propose to the king the removal to it of the saint. The king was going abroad at the time, and it was not till the next year (1095) that the translation was accomplished; then, taking advantage of a visit paid to the monastery by Walkelyn, bishop of Winchester, and Randolph, the king's chaplain, on the king's affairs, he prevailed upon them to carry into effect the royal license already procured for the translation. The Bishop of Winchester took the chief part in the ceremony, one object of which seems to have been to certify to the people that the body of the saint was still incorrupt,—a fact which had been doubted by certain courtiers in the king's service. The procession left the old church by the south door,⁴ bearing, as Hermann expressly states, the wooden shrine ("locellus ligneus") into the new presbytery. Baldwin's building so far included, of course, the crypt, which later notices will show existed under the whole presbytery, but he did not complete the chapels attached east of the presbytery (see plate 1). The two westernmost piers of the presbytery are the only parts which exhibit any traces of architecture, and here parts of the bases of the shafts in Barnack stone are yet to be

¹ A copy of the mandate in a handwriting as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, is in the *Nigrum Registrum Vestiarii*.

² Liber Albus, f. 114.

³ Hermann, f. 78 *et seq.*

⁴ Hermann, f. 82.

seen. The width of his presbytery, without the aisles, can be ascertained at this point to have been 38 feet 9 inches from centre to centre of the walls. That these two western piers were intended for tower-piers is pretty evident from their form; and here, therefore, Baldwin intended the presbytery to have terminated, and the eastern side of the central or choir-tower to have been placed. In the plan, the columns of the arcades to the presbytery are marked as cylindrical upon supposition, for there is no evidence of their form; and as to number, they are set out to accord with the number of windows described in this part of the church in a later account of the delivery of wax tapers to be placed in the windows for the lighting of the church.¹ Abbot Baldwin also translated to his new church the reliques of Sts. Botolph and Firmin,² and subsequently they are frequently mentioned as resting in proximity to St. Edmund's shrine. The other buildings which were erected under this abbot, were, the detached chapels of St. Stephen, St. Dionysius or Denis, and St. Margaret, placed at figs. 3, 4, 5, on plate 2. The history of these buildings, all of which have been destroyed, will appear hereafter each in its place.

From the death of Abbot Baldwin, which occurred in 1097, two years after the completion of the presbytery, to 1107, the monastery was in a state of confusion, his successor Robert being deposed after only two years government, after which a vacancy followed. Upon the appointment of another Robert to the abbacy in 1107 the works were recommenced. The remains shew that Baldwin's design was now to some extent set aside. The work was resumed upon a larger scale, for the tower piers which he had prepared were not used for that purpose, but an additional bay *a a* was added to the presbytery, which was made to widen out so as to measure 1 foot 10 inches wider across the presbytery at *b b* than in the earlier portion. The four piers *c c c c* for the central or choir tower were now put in, and the tower must have been raised, for which a great bell was at this time prepared at no small price, and the transepts proceeded with.

The director of the work under Abbot Robert was Godfrey, the sacrist, described in the history of the sacrists³ as "great in body but greater in mind." For extending the

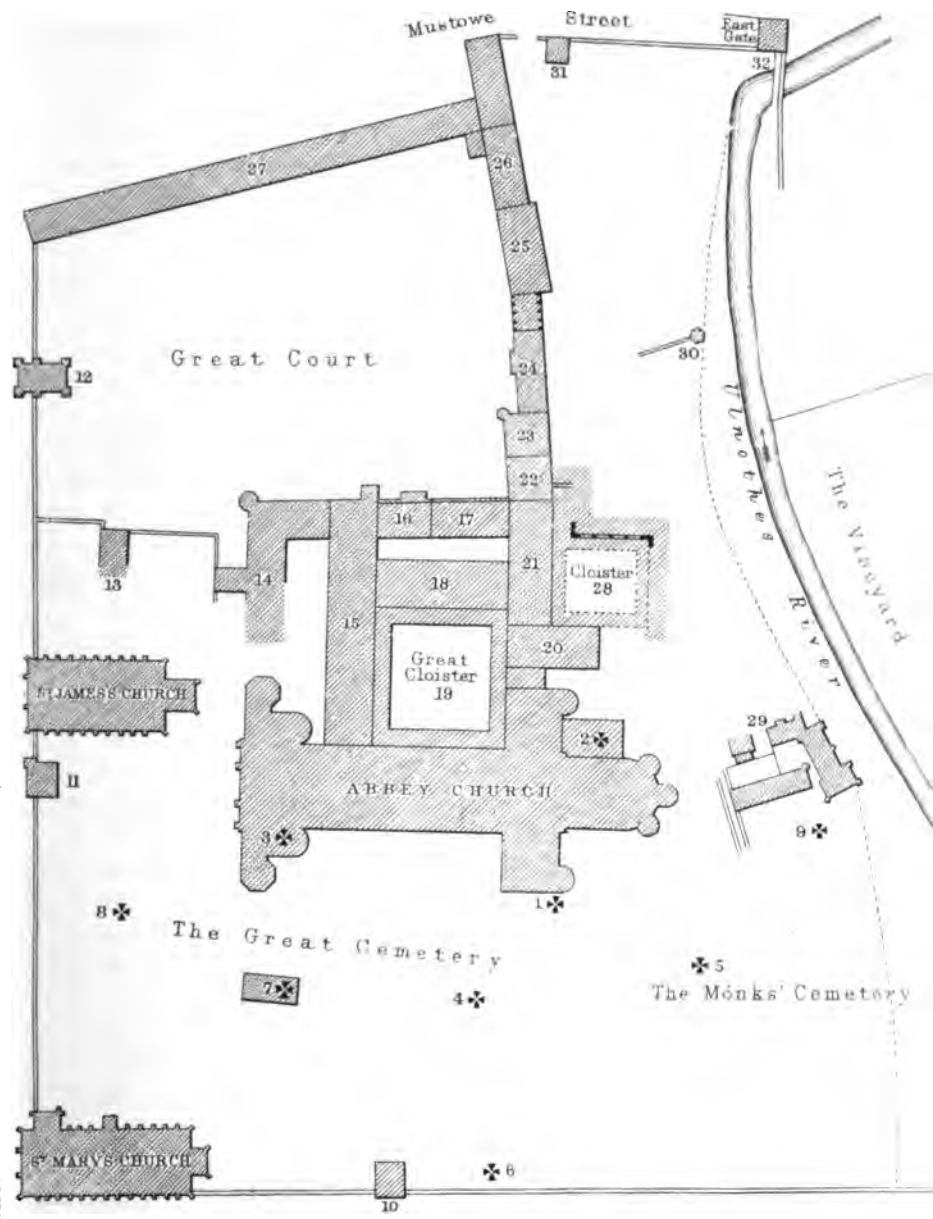
¹ Reg. Pinchbeck, f. 174.

² Hermann, f. 80 b.

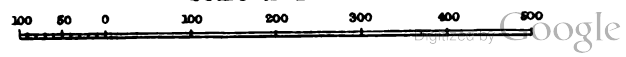
³ Liber Albus, f. 114.

BURY ST EDMUNDS. PLAN OF THE MONASTERY.

NORTH



Scale of Feet.



right arm of the monastery,¹ as we learn in an account of the dedication of the chapels, this sacrist pulled down the old parish church of "*stone*." This, and the account of this sacrist above referred to, shew that the church so pulled down was the church of St. Mary, and record that he erected a new St. Mary's church in the south-west angle of the cemetery. The south arm of the monastery undoubtedly refers to the south transept of the church, and the site of the ancient St. Mary's church may, therefore, be fixed at fig. 1, plate 2. The position of the new St. Mary's is also marked on the same plate, at the spot where in our own day stands its successor. It has already been deduced from the account of the translation of St. Edmund's shrine to Abbot Baldwin's presbytery, that the first church of St. Edmund stood to the north of Baldwin's presbytery. It will hereafter appear still more precisely that it was at fig. 2, and was partly preserved and incorporated into the presbytery and north transept. It is probable, therefore, that the smaller scale of Baldwin's church would have preserved, at least in part, both the ancient churches, between which he had contrived that his should be placed; but the enlarged ideas of the great sacrist Godfrey overruled that part of his project. The only architectural features which remain to confirm what has been said of the date of this part of the abbey church are a few of the bases of the shafts upon the east faces of the two eastern tower piers.

Abbot Robert II died in 1112, when ensued a vacancy to 1114, during which, Radulph, Bishop of Rochester (he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1114) visited St. Edmund's monastery.² He dedicated at this time the altar of the chapel of St. Mary in the crypts, and during the same vacancy was dedicated the altar of St. Peter,³ where also was erected a cross "*greatly venerated in past times*." This would seem to have been the cross which Abbot Leofstan had placed before 1044 at the altar of St. Peter in the first church of St. Edmund, made after a design which he had seen in Rome.⁴ St. Mary in Cryptis, as described in 1479 by William of Worcester, was almost co-extensive with the presbytery and its aisles. St. Peter's seems to be the same subsequently called, from its distinguishing ornament, the altar of the Holy Cross, marked on plate 1. Of this altar and chapel more will be heard presently.

¹ Ibid., f. 213 b.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Battely, p. 42.

Of any progress made under Abbot Albold from A.D. 1114 to A.D. 1120, there is no record, though the great sacrist Godfrey continued in office. Anselm, who succeeded to the abbacy in 1120 and governed (with a slight interruption) till 1148, was a man of high connections, active, and ambitious. Under him, the architect of the monastery, was Radulph Harvey the sacrist, the successor of Godfrey and "a man the most prudent of all", as the biographer of the sacrists has it.¹ With such government and guidance the progress of the abbey church was very great. The nave had been commenced, and must have been carried on by them on a scale larger than originally contemplated. For extending sideways the foundations of the nave,² they pulled down the Basilica of S. Dionysius erected by Abbot Baldwin. Within eighty years, therefore, the plan designed by Baldwin had so grown as to absorb St. Edmund's first church, St. Mary's, and now the church of St. Dionysius, which he had himself built. The latter church, the relator of the present works states, was the first parochial church of the parish which became St. James's. Almost upon its site, he informs us, they raised the porticus of St. Dionysius constructed with art and skill. This porticus, with the porticus of St. Faith and a number of chapels, were consecrated in Abbot Anselm's time by John, Bishop of Rochester. Of the chapels mentioned at this consecration, these two only have the designation "porticus." It may, therefore, be assumed that they had some quality of form or position in common. We know, from what is afterwards recorded in Abbot Sampson's time, that the chapel of St. Faith adjoined a western tower completed for him. There are yet to be seen on the north side of the nave close to the north-west tower two arched panels of work corresponding to Sampson's era (they are high up above the roof of Mr. Greene's house), from which circumstances it is safe to infer that the chapel immediately to the north of it is that of St. Faith. On the opposite side of the nave, most of the existing masses are of much more recent date; but yet there remains in the fragment of the apse of the chapel there, some walling of the age of Anselm and Harvey; most curious, however, it is to notice that at *d* the late work filled up a Norman arch, whose mouldings, unmistakably of Radulph Harvey's work, have their form

¹ Lib. Albus, f. 114.

² Ibid., f. 213 b.

shaped or impressed upon the later wall with the utmost distinctness. The evidence of the work and the agreement in form with the porticus of St. Faith, seems to point out this south lateral chapel, as the porticus of St. Denis. There is no further record of what was now done at the west end of the church; but, as we shall hear within fifty or sixty years of the completion of its western towers, it is nearly certain that the whole substructure of that part of the church was now built. In the southern octagon the modern renovator has left some traces of work of this date.

Anselm, who had been abbot of St. Saba at Rome, it was anciently believed, caused to be built the chapel of St. Saba. The altar here was dedicated by John, Bishop of Rochester.¹ A *Liber Traditionum* in the *Liber Albus*,² shews that the chapel of St. Saba was at the feet of the shrine of St. Edmund. On another occasion, while Anselm was absent at Rome, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, the papal legate to King Stephen, dedicated the altar of St. Cross "behind the choir." Two artists, Godfrey and Wohantun the painter, had been employed to make for it a great cross, in which they enclosed great reliques.³ This was fixed at the back of the altar. The altar of St. Cross is also said to have been at the feet of St. Edmund.⁴ These particulars point very clearly to the two little apsidal side chapels at the east end of the church, and that St. Saba was the north one of the two is known from the position which on certain occasions the prior was to take on the north side of the church before the door of St. Saba's chapel.⁵ That the centre eastern projection was one of the chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is known from the same notice, which describes it with St. Saba and St. Cross at the feet of St. Edmund, and from the mode in which in A.D. 1479 William of Worcester measured the length of the church from the chapel of St. Mary.⁶ The foundation which appears is coeval with that of the other two foundations; but no record of its first erection or consecration has reached us.⁷ Another altar within the church which Anselm caused

¹ *Liber Albus*, f. 213 b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 99 b.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 213 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 99 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Itinerary of William of Worcester.

⁷ The dedication of the altar of St. Cross seems to have been the re-dedication of the old altar of St. Peter. The slight remains of the foundation of this chapel, still to be seen, exhibit, in a projecting piece of walling, shown on the plan, plate 1, some marks of an alteration in its construction made perhaps at this time.

to be dedicated by the Bishop of Rochester, was that of St. Martin.¹ Its position cannot be identified; the only other notice of it met with is in the will of Lady Ela Shardelowe in 1457, who bequeathed ten shillings for the repair of the altar of St. Martin in St. Edmund's Church.²

An important work of Anselm's was the construction of the first church of St. James, as a parish church, in lieu of the church of St. Dionysius, which he had pulled down.³ Its position is not described, but there is no reason to suppose it different from where the present later church of St. James stands (see plate 2). The separate chapel of St. Stephen (fig. 4, plate 2), and the churches or chapels, for they are called both, of St. Andrew and St. Margaret (figs. 5 and 6), were all reconstructed under Abbot Anselm. We remit what further concerns all these to the separate account of each.

Under Abbot Ording, the successor of Anselm was consecrated by Godfrey, Bishop of St. Asaph, the chapel of St. Egidius, otherwise St. Giles, described in the record as situated within the greater monastery (church) above (*desuper*) the altar of St. John the Evangelist. Another record proves that the abbey church had both altars in the crypts and altars in the vaults.⁴ In the vaults there were five altars. Like some at Gloucester cathedral, in all probability these altars in the vaults were in the triforium of the presbytery; St. Giles's *desuper* might be one of them. The origin of the altar of St. John and its situation are alike unknown, except in so far as the preceding observations indicate its position in the aisle of the presbytery.⁵ The other works attributed to Ording, with Helyas, his nephew, for sacrist, were matters of internal ornamentation. In 1156 or 1157 his death brought Abbot Hugo to the government of the abbey, which he held from 1157 to 1180, a period which almost completely embraces the transition from the Norman to the first pointed or early English style of architecture. Frodo, William Schuch, and William Wardel succeeded as sacrists, with Ralph the almoner occasionally ministering in that office.⁶ The important works executed during their time are, however,

¹ Liber Albus, f. 213 b.

² Liber Albus, 213 b.

³ Battely says the altar of St. John was in the nave, and calls St. Giles's Chapel a *porticus*.

⁴ S. Tymms. Bury Wills.

⁵ Ibid, f. 69.

⁶ Liber Albus, f. 114.

attributed to the sub-sacrist Sampson, both in the oft quoted history of the sacrists in the *Liber Albus*, and in the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond.

The former of these records¹ relates that Sampson finished the choir for the most part, and one story of the greater tower at the west door. The choir must no doubt here be understood to be that part of the church west of the central tower in which were placed the stalls of the monks.

Jocelin de Brakelond says :—"Sampson, the sub-sacrist, being master over the workmen, did his best that no breach, chink, crack, or flaw should be left unrepaired so far as he was able ; whereby he acquired great favour with the convent, and especially with the cloister monks. In those days was our choir built under Sampson's direction, he ordering the designs of the paintings, and composing elegiac verses." The mention of paintings reads as if his work had rather to do with the construction of the internal work of the choir, *i.e.*, the stalls and tabernacle work, and the decoration of walls already built, than with the substantial part of the choir. Jocelin continues : "He also made a great draught of stone and sand for building the great tower of the church" (at the west end, as the other record shows); and then relates how this work was interrupted by the jealousy of some of the monks, who suspected that the offerings at St. Edmund's shrine furnished the funds for it. Sampson removed their suspicions by setting up an alms box near the door without the choir in the way of the people, to receive contributions, and finally brought the work to the desired end. This was during the vacancy at the death of Hugo, and immediately before the unexpected elevation of Sampson himself to the abbacy.

Sampson ruled from 1182 to 1211, and to him is to be attributed the completion of the church. Hugo became the sacrist. On the great tower at the west end he placed the roof covered with lead, the abbot himself furnishing timber and other materials. The tower at the chapel of St. Faith (the north west tower spoken of in Abbot Anselm's time) he also finished as to the stone work, and in another tower at the chapel of St. Catherine he finished one story. Can this be another western tower, perhaps one of the

¹ *Liber Albus*, f. 114.

octagons? Except that Sampson covered the Chapel of St. Catherine with lead, as Jocelin de Brakelond relates, this is the only allusion discovered to this chapel.

The other works of Hugo the sacrist were the erection of a great cross (in the choir), with images of St. John and St. Mary, and of the abbot's seat or throne in the choir, painted by Master Symon. The nature of these works confirms to some extent the supposition that the construction of the choir spoken of a few years before, was as to its fittings only, of which this was the completion. The next sacrist, Walter de Banham, more completely finished with a "culmen" the great tower near the chapel of St. Faith, of which Hugh had finished the masonry.¹ He likewise largely repaired the fabric of the church.

Of the next sacrist, William de Disce, only the name is recorded. Robert de Gravele, who came next, was in office late in Abbot Sampson's time. He raftered the nave roof anew. Thus contemporarily with the completion of the fabric, and about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty years from its commencement, had decay set in. This fact is marked still more strongly by a calamity which befel the church in the last year of Sampson's rule. In A.D. 1210, on the 22nd of October, the tower of the church of St. Edmund fell from the violence of the wind.² Which of the towers the notice refers to is not discovered. The tower chiefly noticed as a belfry is that in the choir.

Of the bells, we find that Godfrey, the great sacrist in the time of the abbot, Robert the second, prepared a great bell at no small cost,³ concerning which Battely adds that it was probably the same reported by John Scotus as the largest bell in England. Soon after Abbot Sampson's decease, Richard de Newport, sacrist, made the "great bell in the greater belfry."⁴ About 1240, Nicholas de Warwick, sacrist, caused to be founded the best bell in the choir, called the sacrist's bell; and about 1250, Symon de Luton, sacrist (subsequently prior, and then abbot in 1257), made the bell in the choir called Luton. In A.D. 1434, there were seven bells in the choir tower. In that year, on the 7th of July, Abbot Curteys and William Aston, the "south sexteyn" of the monastery, made an indenture with William

¹ Liber Albus, f. 114.

² Battely.

³ Liber Albus, f. 114.

⁴ Ibid.

Pontrell, citizen and bellmaker of London, for the purchase of a bell "cleped a tenor to four belles, and a treble to two belles, hanging in the steple of the quere,"¹ the bell to weigh 18 cwt., 1 qr., and 7 lbs., five-score pounds to the hundredweight. A book of customs in the *Liber Albus*,² directs that at the anniversary masses of kings and abbots "they should ring the great bell in the cemetery, and thrice ring the two greater bells in the choir."

The sacrists in succession from Robert de Gravele, were Richard de Insula, Richard de Newport, Gregory the Precentor, Nicholas de Warwick, and Symon de Luton. In the office after Luton, and some of them under his abbacy, were Richard de Hoyngesheth, Richard de Colchester, Symon de Kingston, and the last sacrist whose history is preserved, William de Luton.³ He was in office when Edward I, in the last years of the thirteenth century, was engaged in his wars with the French king. No part of the abbey church is attributed to any of these, except to Symon de Luton, after he obtained the abbacy in 1257. In the *Liber Albus*⁴ we learn that "the chapel in which first St. Edmund rested having been destroyed, the Abbot Symon built the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary in that place at his own cost."

During this century, most of the great churches were receiving the addition of a large lady chapel usually attached at their east end. That this was not the position selected at St. Edmunds church we know from the visit to it of William of Worcester, in 1479, who mentions, besides the eastern chapel of St. Mary, "the chapel of the blessed Mary on the *north side of the choir*, where Thomas Beauford lies buried." William of Worcester measured its size, forty paces long, and twenty-one paces broad. Unfortunately, he stepped his paces so inaccurately, that at one time they were two to a yard and at others greater. Hence, not much reliance can be placed on his measurements; but taking the distance from the east side of the choir tower to the eastern lady chapel, which can still be measured, and which he calls seventy paces, we can judge Symon's lady chapel to have been about 70 feet by 37 feet, to which size it is drawn on the plan, plate i. Within this space

¹ Regist. Curteys, f. 151.

² Liber Albus, f. 99.

³ Liber Albus, f. 114.

⁴ Ibid., f. 213 b.

was found, in 1772, the body of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter,¹ which was then removed and re-interred against the north-east pier of the choir tower. The clear identification of the site of Abbot Symon's chapel is important, as it determines the position of the old church of St. Edmund.

The last of the detached chapels the foundation of which is recorded, is the chapel of the charnel, built by Abbot John de Northwold in 1301. There are yet considerable remains of it to be seen in the cemetery, where shown at fig. 7, plate 2. The only other detached chapel to be noticed is called St. John ad Montem. It stood at fig. 8. Though we have no account of its foundation, its later history, given hereafter, at the proper place, will be found to possess some interesting points.

From the time of Abbot Sampson, the records are silent as to any further works at the church for more than two centuries. It was not substantially injured when in the sedition of 1326-7 the domestic offices were to a great extent destroyed. In A.D. 1430, we have to resume its history with an account of a serious calamity, of which very succinct details are handed down to us in the register of Abbot Curteys.² On the 18th December in that year, about the first hour past noon, the south side of the great campanile fell without any previous warning. No person was hurt, for happily a large congregation which had shortly before been in the nave of the church had already dispersed. A little more than a year elapsed, when on the 30th December, 1431, the east part of the same tower similarly fell to the ground. In the interval, the lead and timber of the roof, the bells, and their frames, had been cautiously removed, and now two skilful workmen employed themselves in gradually undermining the north side of the tower, so that on the 28th of March, 1432, that part was thrown to the ground, without damage to any other portion of the building. That the tower here called the great campanile was contiguous to the nave is mentioned in the record of its fall, and that it was at the west end of the church is demonstrated by some notices of it in records of events which occurred whilst it was rebuilding.

The ruin of the tower is attributed in the register to the

¹ See *Philosoph. Transactions*, vol. 62, art. 33, for an account of the finding of the body.

² *Regist. Curteys*, f. 87 b.

carelessness of the sub-sacrist and sacrist, who permitted the insertion of large oak shores to the bell-frames improperly let into the stone work, and allowed an inordinate use of the bells.

The measures upon record for the repair of the disaster, are a bull obtained from the Pope, granting absolution to all who should assist in rebuilding the tower, which the instrument states would require sixty thousand ducats of gold.¹ A copy of an indenture made between the abbot and the prior on one part, and John Wode, mason, of Colchester,² on the other part, sets forth that John Wode should work on the steeple of the monastery "with everything that belongs to freemasonry," from Michaelmas 1435, for seven years, and for payment he should have £10 annually, with board in the convent hall for himself as a gentleman, and for his man as a yeoman, with a robe of gentleman's linen for himself, and one of yeoman's linen for his man, or in lieu thereof, 23s. 4d. A further indenture of September the 1st, 1438, between the same parties, specifies some further details of agreement, and proves that John Wode, whose quality would seem to be that of an architect of the present day, was then proceeding with his work.

When King Henry VI visited the monastery in 1433, the ruined state of the belfry prevented his entering the church at the west door, and in 1439 a great tempest inundated the church, upon which, to prevent such a flow of water entering it again, the abbot ordered the pavement of the new bell tower at the west end to be raised three steps.³

Subsequent references to the tower shew that its re-erection was yet in progress through this century, and at the beginning of the next. In A.D. 1457, Lady Ela Shar-delowe bequeathed 6s. 8d. to repair the ornamentation of the vestibule of St. Edmund's Church, and one hundred shillings for the building of the new campanile.⁴ In A.D. 1461, the will of John Amy directs his body to be buried in the great entrance by the new campanile.⁵ In A.D. 1504, Anné Barrett bequeathed to the building of the new steeple five marks.⁶ How nearly it had reached its completion when the dissolution came, in A.D. 1539, is unknown.

¹ Reg. Curteys, f. 292 b. ² Ibid., f. 308. ³ Ibid., f. 322. ⁴ Tymms' Wills.

⁵ Archæologia, vol. xxiii, art., "Bell-Tower of Church of Bury St. Edmunds," by Gage Rokewode.

⁶ Tymms's Wills.

It must be hazardous to indicate exactly the position of this great belfry. At *c* and *d* (plate 1), are pieces of masonry not unlikely to be of the time of Abbot Curteys, and massive enough to form the base of a tower; they encase Norman work, and at *f* is a Norman circular stair, from which the winding steps have been removed, and then the well has been filled up with solid work. The Norman well or case of the stair has been subsequently pulled down, and leaves now the filling in standing as a cylindrical pillar. The bottom part of a tower at *g*, with a stair turret at its south west angle, is the most conspicuous piece of the ancient work in the west front. The symmetrical arrangement of the walls, as far as they remain, suggests the existence of a similar tower at *h*. Lastly, hazarding a conjecture as to the great tower, it may have been at *l, l, l, l*. This position, though unusual, furnishes at *m*, the vestibule spoken of in Lady Shardelowe's will, and gives to the tower the three sides described in the account of its ruin, in a detached condition, agreeing with the circumstances there related; the mass of wall at *e* would seem to be some kind of abutment added on the south side of the tower, but none such was provided on the north. At *n* or *o* there may have been the chapel of St. Catherine, formerly described as adjoining a tower. The arch which crossed over from *e* to *p* must have had a larger pier at *p* than the columns, *q, q*, etc., of the nave, and this suggests the western termination of those arcades at this point, by massive tower piers at *p, p*. The suggestion is supported by the fact that this arrangement accords with the width and number of the arches which can be set out on each side of the nave, taking the measure from the six existing bases on the north side, and that this number of arches coincides with the mode of lighting the nave described in one of the registers.¹ For the use of the church, on the festival of St. Edmund, the sacrist is directed to deliver twenty-four wax tapers of a pound each, for either side of the nave, which seems to have been intended two for every arch. For the rest of the church, there were to be at seventeen windows in the presbytery seventeen tapers of the same weight, which coincides exactly with the four windows shewn in plan, plate 1, in the south aisle of the

¹ Regist. Pinchbeck, f. 174.

presbytery, adding its thirteen clerestory windows. In the great tower, *i.e.*, in this instance, the central, or choir tower, twelve tapers, apparently three upon each of its piers. In either arm of the cross were to be twenty-six tapers.

In addition to this arrangement for the general illumination of the edifice, particular parts and objects had further provision for light. Around the shrine of St. Edmund were to be four tapers of three pounds each. The candelabrum before the altar was to have five, and the great candelabrum seven tapers, each of a pound and a half. In the choir (probably that is to say in the stalls) and at the great cross (rood cross) were to be placed twelve tapers of a pound each. The altars of St. Saba and of the Martyrs, and the cross (in the presbytery) had each a one pound taper. Fourteen other altars, not designated as to name or situation, had each two similar tapers. The altar of the Virgin Mary (it may be assumed to be that of the chapel on the north side of the presbytery) was to have five two-pound tapers, the gift of John, the son of Luke, and seven more from the sacrist. These arrangements were fulfilled if the abbot himself were present.

The prime ornament of the church, the shrine of the Martyr St. Edmund, stood in the apse at about its centre. We should expect to find it in this position from the existing example of the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in the apse of Westminster Abbey, or from the ascertained fact that St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham Cathedral held a similar position; but we have also complete evidence in the records to shew that the position of St. Edmund's shrine agreed with these instances. It was placed when Abbot Baldwin had completed the presbytery in A.D. 1095, and never moved afterwards. In 1198 the shrine was damaged by fire, as Jocelin de Brakelond copiously relates. On the 17th of October in that year, the master of the vestry roused by the fall of the clock before matins, was alarmed at the sight of fire at St. Edmund's shrine. The alarm instantly spread through the convent, and the fire was found encircling the whole shrine and mounting high towards the wood-work of the church, but was soon suppressed by the activity of the monks, and many relics snatched from destruction. Between the shrine and the altar (the great altar) there was a certain wood floor upon which the keepers of the shrine,

who, it is believed, on this night fell asleep, had in a slovenly manner placed two tapers which were made into one by joining them one upon the other. The upper part fell upon and set fire to the boards and to a quantity of flax thread, rags, and utensils used by the said keepers, and now huddled together beneath in a frame of iron gratings. The heat destroyed the woodwork of the shrine beneath its silver plates to the depth of a man's finger, and the water poured on it reduced its heated stones to a powder. A beam beyond (*i.e.*, east of) the high altar had been removed previously, to be repaired with new carving, and thus the cross with the St. Mary and St. John which were upon it, the casket with the shirt of St. Edmund, and other relics which usually hung from the beam, escaped, whilst a tapestry which was in its place was destroyed. The first danger over, the inconvenience of an exaggerated report of it abroad had to be met. A goldsmith was at hand, who arranged the metal plates of the shrine, and others busily removed every trace of the fire; so that it was hoped the scandalous neglect of the keepers would be concealed from the public, and the loss of offerings be avoided, which might happen if a suspicion of important injury to the relics should be fixed in men's minds. Notwithstanding the care which put all in apparent good order at a very early hour, yet some pilgrims who came early and could perceive no marks of what had happened, were observed peering about; they made inquiries respecting the fire, and a false report was spread that the head, or as some said, only the hair of the saint had been burned.

All this occurred in the absence of the abbot. On his return he reprimanded the sacrist for the carelessness which had made such a fire possible between the shrine and the altar, and at once set to work to repair what was damaged. By the 20th of November, the feast day of St. Edmund, some new marble blocks were prepared for the base of the shrine, and polished. The day after the feast, therefore, the shrine was lifted on to the "high altar," empty at first, for the body of the saint was not removed with it.

(To be continued.)

British Archaeological Association.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, IPSWICH, 1864.

AUGUST 8TH TO 13TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1864.

THE business commenced by a meeting of the officers and committees at the Town Hall, Ipswich, the Mayor, G. C. E. Bacon, Esq., in the chair, when the arrangements for the several excursions, reading of papers, etc., were finally agreed upon. The general assemblage took place in the large Council Chamber, where upwards of a hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen had gathered together to give to the President and Association a hearty welcome.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P. and Treasurer, rose to address the meeting. In the absence of Lord Houghton, ex-President of the Association, detained in Yorkshire by the arrival of some friends, and business which incapacitated him from attending at Ipswich, Mr. Pettigrew said it devolved upon him, as the senior Vice-President, to introduce to them George Tomline, Esq., M.P., M.A., F.S.A., and to move that he do take the chair. In the presence of Mr. Tomline,—and, indeed, to those to whom he is well known,—it would be unnecessary for him to make any observations as to the fitness of the selection that had been made, by enumerating the high and distinguished qualifications of Mr. Tomline to preside over the Association, and regulate the proceedings of the Congress; but he might be permitted to congratulate the members upon the appointment which had been made of one whose taste for, and knowledge of, literature, whose appreciation and judgment of works belonging to the fine arts, and whose general acquaintance with science, so eminently fitted him to fulfil the duties of the presidential chair. In former times it had been esteemed necessary, at the commencement of the Congress, to point out to those attending the advantages arising from such meetings, and to urge upon those who were present the services rendered to historical knowledge by the study of objects of antiquity. These meetings, the first of which, in

this country, he (Mr. Pettigrew) could congratulate himself upon having attended at Canterbury in 1844. This had been successfully followed in various counties by this Association and by other bodies, general and local, the result of which had been the production of numerous important journals and volumes communicating much useful knowledge, and giving illustration to history and antiquities. These results render any observations as to the value of such meetings altogether unnecessary. He should, therefore, no longer detain them from receiving the welcome of the Mayor and Corporation of Ipswich; but move that Mr. Tomline do take the chair, a proposition adopted by general acclamation.

The Mayor said, before he called upon Mr. Tomline to deliver his opening address, he hoped the meeting would allow him, on behalf of the aldermen and councillors of the Corporation, to express the high sense they entertained of the honour conferred upon the town by the British Archæological Association in selecting Ipswich as the centre of the present annual Congress. Ipswich was a town of much antiquity, but he feared it did not possess many monuments of its antiquity which would prove very attractive to archæologists; still there were some few objects to which their attention would be drawn; and he said on behalf of the Corporation, that he would be most happy, by the production of the ancient records and documents of the Corporation, or by any other means, to aid them in any researches and inquiries they might think fit to make. He could not but think that, had this Association been instituted at an earlier period, many monuments of antiquity which have been destroyed would have been preserved. He hoped the Association would be able to pass an agreeable and pleasant week.

Mr. Tomline then took the chair, and delivered the address introductory to the meeting. (See pp. 1-4 *ante*.)

J. C. Cobbold, Esq., M.P., moved, and George Godwin, Esq., V.P., F.R.S., seconded, the thanks of the meeting to the President for his able and eloquent address,—a motion carried by acclamation.

The Mayor then directed the attention of those present to a relic of ancient times, to be seen hanging at the top of the staircase of the Town Hall. It was a "ducking-stool," into which the refractory Ipswich scolds of former days were used to be fastened, and dipped into the water to cool their angry passions.

The party then broke up to attend the Mayor and authorities, who, together with the aid of R. M. Phipson, Esq., one of the local secretaries, proceeded to make a survey of some of the objects worthy of attention in the town, commencing with the Town Library, upon which Mr. Sterling Westhorp had prepared a paper to be read at one of the evening meetings.

The next place visited was Sparrowe's House, kindly thrown open for the occasion by one of the local secretaries, Mr. Haddock. This is an interesting mansion, an illustration and account of which may be found in the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bury and Suffolk Archaeological Institute* (vol. ii, p. 164 *et seq.*), by Mr. Phipson, who kindly gave explanations of its principal features, remarking that the oldest part of the house was a small chamber of the period of Henry VII, or early in Henry VIII's reign; but it had been for a long period closed and concealed, and was not discovered till 1801. When it was broken open, a number of figures of angels, etc., were found to be distributed about the floor. The elaborately carved front of the house was built in 1567 by George Copping, but the house came into the hands of the Sparrowe family seven years later. The front, he said, was unique in design, for there was not one to be found like it even in Chester; and he gave an explanation of the emblems, etc., of the ornamentation. The house had remained the property of the Sparrowe family until the last of the name died two or three years ago, and it now belonged to Mr. J. C. Marshman, son-in-law of the late Mr. J. E. Sparrowe. After hearing Mr. Phipson's account of the house, the party repaired to the secret chamber, to the elaborately panelled oak room, etc., and afterwards examined the back of the house and the exterior.

The party then proceeded down St. Stephen's-lane, examined in passing the old carved corner-post at Mr. Silverstone's shop at the bottom of Silent-street, and then inspected Wolsey's Gate, dated 1528, the only remaining portion of the great college Cardinal Wolsey took so much pride in establishing.

The next place visited was Key Church, whose roof of double hammer-beams was admired, and where the fine Pownder brass and the tomb of the charitable Tooley came in for examination and explanation. In this church Mr. Godwin took the opportunity of remarking that the roof wanted a little care on the part of the churchwardens to prevent its falling into decay; and he also observed that Wolsey's Gate required some attention. A promise was given that the attention of the churchwardens should be called to the subject; and Mr. E. R. Turner, as owner of the property on which Wolsey's Gate stands, expressed his willingness to fall in with the wishes of the town with regard to the maintenance of Wolsey's Gate in its present condition.

The party then took their course by Quay-street to St. Clement's, Fore-street, where they inspected the Neptune and other carved houses in this which, Mr. Phipson said, must have been the High-street of the town in the days of the merchant princes of Queen Elizabeth's days. They also entered the house opposite the Neptune, once the residence of Thomas Eldred, who sailed round the world with Cavendish; and

examined the fine carved chimney-piece and the panel-paintings representing scenes in the life of the circumnavigator.

The picturesque park and fine old Tudor hall of Christchurch was the next place visited. The house, Mr. Phipson stated, stood upon the site of Trinity Priory. Its back part was of the time of Edward VI, but its front was later. It came into the hands of the present family in 1735. The party were very kindly received by T. N. Fonnerau, Esq., and Mrs. Fonnerau, who accompanied them through the hall. It presents a fine specimen of an ancient baronial hall in a perfect state of preservation. The interior is that of a splendid mansion of the Elizabethan days, with a large number of fine family portraits and pictures, among which is a valuable cartoon by Edward Smythe, representing the death of Sir Philip Sidney. In one of the chambers is a bed on which Queen Elizabeth slept on one of her visits to Ipswich, on which is a beautiful coverlet worked by one of her majesty's ladies in waiting. The entrance hall is surrounded with a gallery, and the walls are ornamented with armour and ancient weapons of war. The capacious chimney-piece is decorated with sculpture, among which is the marble bust of a female whose face is covered with a veil. That trick of the sculptor which excited so much notice and admiration in the veiled figure at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and was then considered a novelty in the art, had been practised in Italy two hundred years ago; for it is stated that an ancestor of Mr. Fonnerau brought the bust in question from Rome about that period. In the garden a small building was inspected, which has been supposed to have been a chapel in former times.

The fine church of St. Margaret was next visited, and admired for its handsome, enriched, carved roof of double hammer-beams.

The church of St. Mary Tower, in its half-restored condition, next occupied the attention of the company, and gratification was expressed at the style in which the work of restoration is being carried out. Time would not permit of further inspections, the hour for *table d'hôte* having arrived. The meeting was numerous, and the Mayor presided, supported by the President of the Association, officers, etc.

At half-past eight the party adjourned to the Great Council Chamber for the evening meeting,

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

J. R. Planché, Esq., Rouge Croix, Hon. Sec. of the Association, commenced the business by reading his paper, "On the Earls of East Anglia," which will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

After a slight discussion relating to a tradition that Ipswich Castle was destroyed in 1176, owing to the dissatisfaction of Henry Hugh Bigod, Mr. Planché, in reply to Mr. Phipson, observed that there were

traces of the occupation of the Castle by the Bigods, and also of its destruction while in their possession ; but great confusion prevailed as to how many Hugh Bigods there were.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Planché for his paper, Edward Leven, Esq., F.S.A., was called upon for his communication, "On MS. Collections relating to Suffolk in the British Museum." At the conclusion, the Mayor conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Leven for his valuable paper, and said that he hoped Bacon's book on the town records, which had been alluded to by the author, would be printed and circulated in the town.

The proceedings for the next day were then announced, and the meeting was adjourned.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9.

By special train, and notwithstanding the state of the weather (the long-wished for rain descending steadily), a large party departed to view the antiquities of Bury St. Edmunds. Reaching this town, carriages were in readiness to take them to the Guild Hall. Here they were received by the Mayor of Bury (H. Le Grice, Esq.) with the Town Clerk and several members of the Corporation, as well as the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, the President of the Suffolk Archæological Institute. The reception took place in the Bury and West Suffolk Library, where were exhibited some interesting and beautifully illuminated manuscript books of ancient date, which formerly had belonged to the monastery.

The Mayor, before the reading of the papers was commenced, addressed a few observations expressive of the pleasure which he and the other members of the Corporation, as well as the inhabitants of Bury, experienced at receiving the British Archæological Association. He trusted that they would have a pleasant reminiscence of their visit to the town, which presented many features of interest to the archæologist, two magnificent churches, and the remains of a monastery and of an abbey.

The company then adjourned to the Sessions' Court, where, in consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, it was arranged Mr. Gordon Hills should give his explanations of the antiquities instead of at the churches, etc. The chair was taken by the Mayor ; and the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, on behalf of the Suffolk Archæological Institute, cordially welcomed the British Archæological Association in Bury, to the interesting parts of which town they could, perhaps, best direct them.

Mr. Gordon Hills then proceeded to address the meeting upon the

antiquities of Bury ; for a full account of which, with illustrations, see pp. 32-56 *ante*.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hills's address, Mr. Tomline, on the part of the Association, returned thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, and also to the members of the Suffolk Archæological Institute, for the very kind reception given to them.

The party then proceeded to view the magnificent church of St. Mary, regarded as the finest ecclesiastical building in the county, and were conducted over it by the Rev. J. Richardson, the incumbent. Here, in the chancel, Mr. Hills proceeded to give a history and description of the church and its monuments. The Norman tower, which formed one of the entrances to the cemetery of the monastery, was then examined ; also St. James' Church and the Abbey Gateway. The state of the weather and heavy rain prevented a full examination of the remains of the abbot's stables, or the interesting bridge ; but of these, as well as of the site of the cloisters, and part of the old church, full particulars will be found in Mr. Hills's paper.

An adjournment now took place to the Angel Hotel, where an elegant luncheon had been prepared ; the Mayor presiding, and upwards of a hundred persons present.

Mr. Tomline expressed the thanks of the Association to the Suffolk Archæological Institute and the inhabitants of Bury for the energy they had shewn in keeping the monuments of ancient history in the town in so perfect a state. The President of the Suffolk Institute was present, and to him he tendered their thanks.

Mr. Gordon Hills observed that it was very desirable that the two parts into which the remains of the nave and choir of the old church had been divided should be thrown into one. He understood that they belonged to one owner, and that there was a possibility of their being so united.

The Ven. Archdeacon Lord A. Hervey in responding said he agreed with Mr. Hills that it was desirable that the whole site of the ancient church should be thrown into one enclosure ; and he hoped the British Archæological Association might visit the town again, and find the suggestion carried out. He concluded by proposing "Success to the British Archæological Association," which was responded to by Mr. Tomline.

Carriages were again called into requisition, and in a long line of vehicles the party set out for Hengrave Hall, the seat of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart., three or four miles from Bury, of which an account will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

After giving a thorough examination to the Hall and the curious little church with a round tower, close to the building, the party returned to Bury Station, and thence back by special train to Ipswich. A *table*

d'hôte was held at the Great White Horse Hotel, Nathaniel Gould, Esq., V.P., presiding; after which a meeting was held in the Great Council Chamber for the reading of papers and discussion, T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., V.P., in the chair. The chairman expressed his regret that the state of his health had not permitted him to accompany the Association in their excursion to Bury St. Edmunds, Hargrave Hall, etc., and embraced this opportunity afforded him by the presence of the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, President of the Suffolk and Bury Archæological Institute, personally to offer the best thanks of the Association for his Lordship's most obliging attention on the occasion. This being duly acknowledged by Lord Arthur Hervey, the chairman called upon Edw. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, to give an account of the proceedings of the day; which having been done in accordance with the preceding statement, a paper was read, "On the Camps, Roman Roads, Pavements, etc., in Suffolk, by George Vere Irving, Esq., V.P., which will appear in the *Collectanea Archæologica* of the Association, accompanying similar accounts, already published, of camps, etc., in Devon and Cornwall. Suffolk possesses thirty-five camps and other fortifications, included within the scope of this paper.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Irving for his communication, the following paper was read:

ON THE LIBRARY OF THE TOWN OF IPSWICH.

BY STERLING WESTHORP, ESQ.

The Library belonging to the Corporation of Ipswich, which is one among the earliest of town libraries, appears to have been founded by William Smarte, portman (or, as he would now be called, alderman) of the borough, who, by his will dated the 8th of January, 1598 (proved at Doctors' Commons the 2nd November, 1599), made the following bequest: "My latten printed bookes and written bookes in volume and p'chmente...I gyve towards one librarye, safelye to be keepte in the vestrye of the parishe church of St. Mary Tower in Ipsw'ch afore-sayde, and the doore to have two sufficiente lockes and keyes, th'one to remayne in the custodye of the minister of the parish for the time beinge, and the other to be kept by the churchwardens of the sayde p'ishe for the tyme beinge, to be used there by the co'mon preacher of the sayde towne for the tyme beinge, or any other precher mynded to preache in the sayde p'ish church."

The books and MSS. given by Smarte do not appear to have been deposited in the Vestry of St. Mary Tower, as directed by his will. In an old parchment book dated May 1615, lately found amongst the town records, and containing a catalogue of the books ("*Index Bibliothecæ*") and names of the donors, it is stated they were *reserved* by the town in

an old chest until the year 1612. In this year they were deposited in a large spacious room over the chapel at Christ's Hospital, fitted up for the purpose by the Corporation; with the addition of many volumes purchased by them with a legacy left by a Mrs. Walter, whose name appears as donor of fifty-three works still in the Library. Subsequently to the year 1748 this room was used as the Grammar Schoolroom, in consequence, it is presumed, of the old Grammar Schoolroom, which stood in front of the Chapel, being taken down; and the books were then, or at some subsequent time, removed to a room under the former one; and in consequence of the damp state of this room they were, about the year 1820, again removed to another room, adjoining the cloisters, which was used as a committee-room by the governors of Christ's Hospital. It may not be out of place to remark that Christ's Hospital was situate in Foundation-street, in the parish of St. Mary Key; and was, prior to the dissolution of monasteries, a house of the Black Friars, Dominicans (called the Friars Preachers); and was, soon after its dissolution, purchased by the Corporation, and used for the purpose of a hospital for poor boys, a grammar-schoolroom, a bridewell, almshouses, etc. The last remnant of the hospital was taken down about the year 1851, and new almshouses for aged poor, and schoolrooms for poor boys, have been erected on the site.

Formerly the keys of the Library were kept in the hands of the bailiffs (mayors) of the town and the Master of the Grammar School, who was generally the town preacher or lecturer of the Corporation; and latterly the Master of Christ's Hospital School, which adjoined the Grammar School, was entrusted with a key, and had free access to the Library. In the year 1832 the Library was placed under the care of the late Literary Institution, in the room at the Town Hall in which it now is, and they are now under the sole charge of the Corporation.

The Library has been increased from time to time (but not much of late years) by gifts from the bishop of the diocese and the clergy and inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, and now contains 922 volumes, representing 659 works, only two of which bear the date of the present century. Most of them are of a theological character. The MSS. are now only ten in number, eight of which appear to have been given by William Smarte.

The oldest printed book in the Library (No. 1) is the second volume (imperfect) of the "*Pantheologia, seu Summa Universæ Theologiæ*," of Raynerus de Pisis; folio, printed at Nuremberg by Anthony Koberger in the year 1474,—remarkable as being the year in which the first book from moveable types was printed in England. From the old catalogue above referred to, both volumes of this book appear to have been given to the Library by the will of Mr. Caston, rector of Ottley; but it is stated, "his executors never add' y^e 1st p^t of Rayner's." There

are three other works belonging to this Library printed in the same century,—No. 26, "*Gratiani Decreta*," Argent., 1490, folio; No. 355, "*Epistolæ ad Pontifices*," Nuremberg, Koburger, 1481, fol.; and a work (No. 387) of S. Thomas Aquinas; Basil, 1495, folio: and also the three following from the Library of the Ipswich Museum, temporarily deposited in the Corporation Library,—"*Appiani Alexandrini Historia*," Venet., Bernard Pictor and others, 1477, 4to.; "*Mammotrectus*," i.e., a manual for the guidance of priests in the reading and exposition, in the services of the Church, of the Bible, hymns, extracts from writings of the Saints or Fathers, etc.; Venet., 1479, Nicholas Jansen, 4to. (a Frenchman, considered by some the founder of printing in that city. The third book from the Museum is "*Maillardi Sermones*," Lyons, John de Vingle, 1498, 8vo.

There are three large folio Bibles worthy of special notice. No. 12, Cranmer's ("*The Great*") Bible, black letter, and printed in the reign of Henry VIII. It is either the copy printed by Edward Whitchurch, 28th May, 1541, or that printed by Richard Grafton in 1540-41. All the insignia, except the "descriptyon and successe of the kings," etc., and the prologue or preface by Archbishop Cranmer, and the woodcuts at the commencement of chapters, have been abstracted. This was the Bible required by royal proclamation to be placed in every parish church. It contained an elaborately engraved title-page, in which King Henry VIII was represented delivering the Bible ("*Verbum Dei*") to the bishops, with this injunction, "*Hæc precipere et docere*"; and to the judges with this, "*Quod justum est, judicate ita parvum audietis ut magnum*"; a bishop in turn delivering the Bible to the clergy, and the latter preaching to the people, who were shouting "*Vivat rex*" and "*God save the king*." This frontispiece is supposed to have been the work of Hans Holbein.

No. 11, commonly called "*The Bishops' Bible*"; London, by Richard Jugge, in 1572, folio. It contains the two versions of the Psalter, that of "*The Great Bible*" in black letter, and a new one in Roman; and has for many of the illustrated initials in the New Testament, subjects from Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*." The engraved title-page to the Old Testament, and the portrait of Lord Leicester at the commencement of Joshua, are wanting. The portrait of Lord Burleigh between Job and the Psalms, and the title-page to the New Testament, are extant. Preceding the title-page to the New Testament is "a table to make plain the difficultie found in St. Matthewe and St. Luke touching the generation of Jesus Christ," etc.

No. 13, "*La Bible*," à Geneve, 1588, 8vo.; a Protestant edition with epistle by Theodore Beza. It was presented to the Library by the widow of Edward Bacon, Esq. (the half-brother of Lord Francis Bacon), to whom it had been given by Theodore Beza, his former preceptor.

About the year 1828 the following memorandum recording this fact was in existence upon a blank leaf in the book, since removed: "This book was given to Edward Bacon, Esquire, by Theodore Beza, in whose house he had lived diverse years in Geneva, as a monument of their Christian acquaintance; recorded by Lambert Duncan in an epistle dedicatorie to the sayde gentleman, intended by him in his lifetime to be placed in this Library; and now by Mrs. Helena Bacon, his wife and sole executrix, given to the same use A° D'ni. 1618, Septemb' 25th." It is also referred to in the old catalogue of 1615, as "A French Bible of Mr. Beza's gyft to him" (Bacon); and within the period of living testimony this volume contained an original letter from Beza himself to his quondam pupil, which has also been abstracted. This bible has many illustrations.

The "Holy Bible," Lond., Robert Barker, 1617, folio.

There are several works from the printing presses of the Stephens (the French family, so numerous and celebrated in their day for scholarship and the art of typography). No. 145. "Ecclesiastica Historia Eusebii," etc. No. 146. "Eusebii preparatio Evangelia," Græce, R. Stephens, Paris, 1544-5, folio. These volumes are beautifully printed, and contain the earliest specimens of the device subsequently adopted by royal printers, a thyrsus with an olive branch and a serpent wound round it, and the motto "*Βασιλει τ' αγαθῷ κρατερῷ τ' αιχμητῇ*." No. 165. Bucer (Mart.) opera, Lat. No. 450. "Biblia Hebraica," first Parisian edition, 1540-43. The margin of this book abounds with notes, written in a very minute character. All these works contain the device on the title page of an olive-tree, with one or more branches broken off, while new ones are grafted on, and the motto "Noli altum sapere," but without the addition of "Sed tunc," sometimes added by Stephens. No. 47. Henry Stephens, the IInd, in 4 vols., folio. No. 47. Stephani, Henr., "Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae;" Paris, 1572, 4 vols., folio.

Amongst the earlier printed books are the following:—

No. 15. "Salemonis ecclesiæ Constantiensis ep'i glosse ex illustrissimis collecte auctoribus, sine loco, anno, aut nomine typographi."

No. 320. "Postilla super Matheum, &c.," Nicolai de Lira. Old printing, good type and paper, and in excellent condition, but leaves at end wanting. This book is an excellent specimen of perfect register in printing.

No. 24. "Decretalium Gregorii Noni," folio; Rembolt at Dystichon, 1514.

No. 25. "A Catena of the Fathers," printed at Paris by the widow of Rembolt, Madame Caroline Guillard, the first woman who distinguished herself in the typographic art.

No. 136. "Provincialis Guilielmi Lyndewode," 1505. This book was the gift of Wm. Smarte.

No. 55, is a fine edition of the works of the Venerable Bede, folio, 6 vols. in 3, Coloniae, 1612; with a beautifully engraved title page, containing a view of the city with the crane upon the unfinished tower of the cathedral. It is remarkable, that although Bede was considered the most learned man of his age, his works were never published in a complete form in his native land until within the last few years.

No. 65, is a fine copy of the works of S. Chrysostom in Latin, 5 vols. in 4, folio, Paris, 1614; and No. 134 is a copy of the same works in Greek, printed at Eton in 1613, in 8 vols., folio, under the editorship of the eminent scholar Sir Henry Savile. Both works contain finely engraved frontispieces.

The works printed by the Elzevirs are not good specimens. No. 573, "*Descartes Opera Philosophica*," is by Daniel Elzevir, the last of the race, and was printed at Amsterdam in 1672.

There are many works printed by Froben, the Wechels, Frosch-verus, Blaeu, Plantin, Oporinus, and other continental printers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, containing specimens of the curious symbols, etc., adopted by them.

No. 397, containing the works of William Tyndal, John Frith, and Dr. Barnes, martyrs, 1572; and No. 411, containing the works of Thomas Beacon, 1560, have a local interest. They were printed by the eminent printer John Daye, who was born at Dunwich in the county of Suffolk, and buried in the parish church of Bradley Parva in the same county, where there is a monument with an inscription to his memory. The books are curious as containing specimens of the quaint devices or symbols adopted by printers of the day. Day's device represents the sun rising, and a man (doubtless intended to represent himself) awaking a sleeping monk, saying, "Arise, for it is day." John Daye was the printer of the first edition of Fox's "*Acts and Monuments*."

In addition to those above mentioned, there are in the library the following valuable works:—

No. 2. "*Biblia Polyglotta*, Briani Waltoni," 6 tom. folio, Thos. Roycroft, London, 1658-7, printed on paper, allowed by Cromwell to be imported duty free for the purpose; but the preface does not contain either the republican or loyal clauses.

No. 3. "*Lexicon Heptaglotton*," E. Castelli, 2 vols., folio, 1669, to accompany Walton's "*Polyglot*."

No. 7, a perfect copy of Fox's "*Acts and Monuments*," in 2 vols., folio, Company of Stationers, 1610.

No. 14. "*Biblia Hebraice, Græc. et Lat., Francisci Vatabli*," 2 vols., folio, ex officina Commelinina, 1599.

No. 16. Bishop Hacket's "*Century of Sermons*, folio, Andrew Clark, London, 1675; given to the Library 6th May, 1675, by Sir Andrew Hackett, his son.

No. 19. Elias Ashmole's "Order of the Garter," with plates by Hollar, folio, J. Maccock, London, 1672; given by John Knight, Doctor of Physicke, Sergeant Chirurgeon to his May^{ty} Charles y^e Second, February 1680.

No. 27. John Minsheu's "Ductor in Linguas," folio, John Brown, London, 1617. The first work published by subscription in England; but this copy is without the very rare list of subscribers.

Nos. 44 and 189. Wm. Dugdale's "Baronage of England," 2 vols., folio, Thos. Newcomb, London, 1675; and his "Antiquities of Warwickshire," Thos. Warren, London, 1656; and No. 140, Roger Dodsworth and Guil. Dugdale's "Monastici Anglicani," 3 vols., folio, London, 1661—all given by Dr. Knight; and No. 258, "Will. Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral," with portrait and plates by Hollar, folio, John Warren, London, 1618, the gift of the Rev. Thos. Hewett.

No. 45. Rev. J. Dart's "History and Antiquities of Canterbury Cathedral," with plates, folio, J. Cole, London, 1726.

No. 60. "Immanuel Tremellius et Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra Latina ex Hæbræo facta, fol. Typ. Wechel. apud Claud. Marnium, & Hær. Joan. Aubrii, Hanoviæ, 1603."

No. 79. Bayle's "Historical and Critical Dictionary," 2nd edition, 5 vols., folio, London, 1734. This copy contains the two lives of David.

No. 91. "Matth. Westmonasteriensis Flores Historiarum Florentius Wigorniensis Chronic., fol., Typis Wechelianis, &c., Francofurti, 1601."

No. 95. "Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipi: Will. Malmsburiensis; Henricus Huntindoniensis; Roger de Hoveden; Chronic Ethelwardi; Ingulphus." Fol., G. Bishop, &c., Londini, 1696; referred to in the old Catalogue as the gift of "Mrs. Catherine Dod, widow."

No. 97. Nicolas de Lyra, "Textus Biblii cum glossa ordinaria, postilla," &c., folio, 3 vols., Froben, Basil, 1506. The gift of Wm. Smarte.

No. 107. Francis Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," in 2 vols., folio, London, 1732.

Nos. 109 and 110. Bishop Tanner's "Notitia Monastica" and "Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica," 2 vols., folio, 1744 and 1743; given by the Rev. John Tanner, Vicar of Lowestoft.

No. 112. Peter Heylyn's "Cosmography," 3rd edition, folio, London, 1666.

No. 162. P. Melanchthon, opera in 4 vols. folio, Hær., Joan Cratonis, Witebergæ, 1580.

No. 176. "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," M. Parkeri, folio, Typ. Wechelianis, Hanoviæ, 1605.

No. 226. "Purchas his Pilgrimes," in 4 vols., folio, Wm. Stansby,

London, 1625; given by "Mr. John Smytheir, merchant, during his life reserving one in his owne custody." And No. 399. "Purchas his Pilgrimage," 2nd edition, small folio, Stansby, London, 1614; the gift of Mr. John Sicklemore.

No. 255. "Erasmi Annot. in Nov. Test.," folio, John Froben, Basil, 1527; the gift of Mr. Jno. Carter, of Bramford.

No. 272. "Rhemish New Testament," by W. Fulke, folio, G. B., London, 1601.

No. 279. Edward Brown's "Fasciculus Rerum," folio, 2 vols., R. Chiswell, London, 1690.

No. 369. Henry Spelman's "Concilia in Eccles. Britan." folio, Rich. Badger, London, 1639.

No. 370. S. Birgit, "Revelationes celestes," 2 vols., folio, Anthony Koburger, Nuremberg, 1517; the gift of Wm. Smarte.

No. 373. "Natural History of Oxfordshire," by Plot, with plates, folio, Theater, Oxford, 1677; the gift of Dr. Knight.

No. 401. Wm. Wollaston's "Religion of Nature," L.P., 4to, Longman and others, London, 1726; given to the Library by the author.

No. 416. Samuel Moreland's "History of the Evangelical Churches of Piemont, London, 1658; with illustrations of the terrible sufferings the brave Waldenses had to endure in adhering to their primitive faith."

No. 442. Browne Willis's "Survey of Cathedrals," vols. i and iii, 4to, London, 1742.

No. 484. The first volume of the "Philosophical Transactions for 1665-6," 4to, printed in the Savoy.

No. 559. John Marbeck's "Common Places," B.L., 4to, Thos. East, London, 1581.

There are also in the Library the works of SS. Cyprian, Cyril, and Jerome, S. Thomas Aquinas, and of Maldonatus. The works of Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and other reformers; and of Socinus and other Unitarian writers of the sixteenth century; the latter bearing fictitious names for the places where they were printed, in consequence of the persecution the writers were then liable to.

And in the Library of the Museum, are the following valuable works temporarily deposited in this library:—"Strutt's Dictionary of Engraving;" "Aistle's Origin of Writing;" "Singer, on Playing Cards, with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on wood;" "Ottley's History of Engraving;" "Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities;" and "Twelve Prints of the Monasteries, etc., in Suffolk," by Joshua Kirby, with his historical book thereon.

No. 461 in the Corporation Library, "Dr. Brook Taylor's Perspective," by Joshua Kirby, was printed at Ipswich in 1755, and contains the curious frontispiece by Hogarth setting at defiance all rules of perspective, underneath which is the following, "Whoever makes a

Design without the knowledge of *Perspective* will be liable to such absurdities as are shown in this Frontispiece." It was given to the Library by Kirby himself. This is the earliest book in the town library printed at Ipswich, although the art was carried on there at a very early period.¹

¹ In the year 1548 there were three printers at work in Ipswich, namely, John Oswen, John Overton, and Anthony Scoloker. Two books printed by Oswen and Overton were exhibited at the Congress by W. P. Hunt, Esq. That by John Overton is the work of John Bale, a biographical dictionary of British writers, with catalogues of the works printed by them, and the first work of the kind published in England. It is entitled "*Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum....Summarium*." It is believed that in all other editions of this work it is entitled "*Catalogus*" in lieu of "*Summarium*." It has the following explicit, "*Completum erat præsens...opus....excusumque fuit Gippeswici in Anglia per Joannem Overton anno a Christi incarnatione 1548, pridie calendæ Augusti*." This book contains for frontispiece a picture of Bale presenting his book to King Edward VI, and on either side of the leaf preceding the preface there are a likeness of Wicliffe and a small engraving similar to that of the frontispiece. It is not known that Overton printed any other book than this at Ipswich.

Bale was a Suffolk man. He informs us in this book (at pp. 242-3) that he was born at Cove, three miles from Sothold, and five from Dunwich, in Suffolk, and educated in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich, and at Cambridge. His education was, of course, in the Romish religion; but at some subsequent period he turned Protestant, and gave proof of having renounced one at least of the rules of the Romish faith, by marrying; which event is thus referred to by himself: "*Horribilis bestiae, seu execrabilis Antichristi maledictum characterem deinceps—erasi, extirpavi, delevi. Non enim ab homine, neque per hominem, sed ex speciali Chri Verbo et dono, uxore fidelissimâ accepi Dorotheâ, at non amplius essem papæ creatura, sed Dei jubentis, Qui non continet, nubat in domino*." In a letter to Lord Cromwell, Bale styles himself Doctor of Divinity, and "*late parysh prest of Thomden in Suffolk*"; and in the deposition of one Robert Blossie *alias* Mantel, recorded in Strype's "*Annals*" (vol. ii, p. 2, Append. No. 25) a reference is made to "*Mr. Bale, the learned man, prior of the White Friars in Ipswich*." Bale was made bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, after he became a Protestant.

The other book belonging to Mr. Hunt is by John Oswen, and is a 12mo., in black letter, and contains the following title: "*A newe Booke containynge an Exhibitio to the Sycke. The Sycke Man's Prayer.—A Prayer with thanks at the Purification of Women.—A Consolation at Burial, 1548*"; and the following colophon, "*Imprynted at Ippeswiche by me, John Oswen, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*." Oswen also printed the following books at Ipswich: "*Invective against Drunkenness*," 16mo.; "*Of the trewe Auctoritie of the Church newly translated out of Latyn into Englyshe*," 16mo., Peter Moon, eight leaves, 4to.; "*John Ecclampadius, his Epistle that there ought to be no Respect of Personages of the Poore, but all to be helpe and comforted in their Necessities*," 16mo.; "*The Mynde of M. Jhon Caluyme, what a faithful Man, which is instructe in the Worde of God, ought to do dwelling amongst the Papisters*," 16mo, k 4, in eights; "*A Brief Declaration of the fained Sacrament, translated out of the Latine into Englysh*," 16mo, b, in eights. Oswen left Ipswich in the year 1548, and in the same year established printing at Worcester.

Anthony Scoloker printed at least three books at Ipswich, the following are the titles:—"A right notable Sermon made by Doctor Martyn Luther vppon the Twentieth Chapter of John, of Absolution and the true use of the Keyes, full of great comfort. In which also it is intreated of the Mynsters of the Churche, and of the Scholemaisters what is dune unto them. Ande of the Hardnes and softenes of the Harts of Menne," 8vo.; "*Certeayne Preceptes,*

The old catalogue, above referred to, contains some interesting entries. It is stated at the commencement, "This booke was made and given by Willā Saires, book-binder, of Ipswich, May 1st, An. 1615."

The following extract refers to the gift of Mrs. Walter, and contains a list of the prices¹ given in, or prior to, the year 1612 for the books purchased with her legacy, An. 1615:—"Mrs. Walter, widdow, her gift to the towne is conferred towards the furnishing of this librarie, see the 1 page, £50."

The old catalogue contains a list of the books given by Wm. Smarte, and refers also to the following benefactors:—"Mr. Samuel Ward, publicke preacher, of Ipswich, the workes of Pareus, in 9 vols., £2:10:0, still in the Library, Nos. 454 to 460. Samuel Ward was chosen town preacher in 1604, and died about the year 1640; he was a Puritan, and man of some note in his day. Mr. J. P. Hunt has an original portrait of him, well executed, and exhibited at the Congress. He is represented with an open book in his right hand, ruff, peaked beard, and moustache; on one side is a coast beacon lighted, and inscribed "Watche Ward ætatis suæ 43, 1630."

Mr. Drax, of Harwich, his owne workes; Mr. (Tho.) Eldred, Dr. Hall's workes, and Mr. Hernes workes, and also Lorinus, 3 in Psal. Geasner., in 3 vols. The Eldred here referred to was Capt. Thomas Eldred, who sailed round the world with Cavendish, the navigator, in 1586. The house in which he lived is still standing in St. Clement's Street, opposite the Neptune Tavern: it contains some curious paintings upon the old carved oak panels of the fire-place in the front room. They consist of a ship in one panel, a globe in a second, and a portrait of a man holding a sea glass towards his eye in the third.

"The Lord Bishop of Norwich, at his visitation, 1662, gave £10 to y^e Library.

Mr. John Coleman, *inter alia*, "Syb's Riches of Mercy;" "Bruised Read;" "Soul's Conflict;" "Beams of Light;" "Light from Heaven;" "Saints' Cordials," in folio; "Bowels opened;" "On 3rd of y^e Philips;" "Evangelical Sacrifices;" "Returning Back-slider": a curious specimen of the nomenclature of the Puritan writers of the day.

The manuscripts are all (except No. 10) written on vellum, and are

gathered by Hubricus Zuinglius, declaring howe the ingenious youth ought to be instructed and brought unto Christ—translated out of Latine into Englysh by Maister Richarde Argentyne, Doctour of Physyck," 12mo; "Sermons (6) of Bernardus Ochinus," translated by R. Argentyne, small 8vo, of which a perfect and fine copy is to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is very much to be regretted that works of so great a local interest are not to be found in this library. There is no trace of any books having been printed at Ipswich during the remainder of the sixteenth century, or even during the seventeenth.

¹ As the prices vary little from what the works are now obtained at, the enumeration is omitted from this paper.

upon theological subjects. They are, for the most part, illuminated, in a fair state of preservation, and good specimens of the writing of the several periods to which they belong.

No. 1. "Biblia Concord." MS., illuminated, folio, sæc. xiii. vl xiv.

No. 2. Bede, "On the Gospel of St. Luke," imperfect, fine MS., sæc. xii.

No. 3. "Biblia Sacra, Exodus cum Glossa," sæc. xiii: contains a beautifully illuminated title-page, and is in a very good state of preservation.

No. 4. "Mariale de Sa. Ed. per J. Abbatem," sæc. xiv. Probably by John Abbot, of St. Edmund's Bury, in a very good condition.

No. 5. "A Collection of Sermons," circa sæc. xiv.

No. 6. "Varia," containing:—1. *Compilatio super moralia S. Gregorii*; 2. A Theological work, explicit, "*A Libello qui dicitur Paratum*"; 3. List of Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees; 4. *Libellus excerptis ab Ethimologiis Rabani, dictus Palmapenne*; Texts on subjects, etc., circa M.CC.LXX.

No. 7. "Officina et preces," sæc. xiv.

No. 8. A book entitled "*Liber Sancti Edmundi Regis in quo continentur Expositio super Psalterum Josue et Judicorum Glosati*," sæc. xiii. This work was probably written by the monks of St. Edmund's Bury.

No. 9. "Sacra Vulgata cum Concordantia."

No. 10. "Catechitice," *Versiones variæ*. Heb., Græc., Lat., and Angl., MS. on paper.

In the year 1746, a laudable attempt was made by a clergyman of the town to do something for the preservation of the books. For that purpose he had a label prepared at his own expense, representing the Arms of Ipswich, with the words "The Ipswich Library," and "The gift of ———," on scrolls above and below, and made some valuable suggestions. But, unfortunately, this gentleman had his own arms in miniature, and the date 1746 engraved upon the label, which were considered by a Committee of Inspection appointed to consider the matter, sufficient reasons for the rejection of the proffered gift and the suggestions too, for they do not appear to have been ever acted upon, although the plate, with the objectionable armorial bearings and date erased, has since found its way into the books. And in 1799 a catalogue was prepared of the books of which but two or three copies remain. But there does not appear to have been much care taken of the library. Many valuable works have been lost, and many of those that remain are much mutilated.

This has arisen in a great measure, it is believed, from the library not having been sufficiently accessible to the public to induce them to take an interest in its preservation or augmentation.

It would be very desirable that this library and that attached to the museum should be amalgamated and made the nucleus of a good Library of Reference, which is very much needed in the town. And also that the records, charters, and other documents belonging to the Corporation should be chronologically arranged and bound in volumes, and kept in the library for inspection by the public under proper regulations, as is now becoming customary with other municipal corporations.

This practice has been found useful for the preservation of public documents, and there can be no doubt that if an arrangement of this kind were adopted, it would inspire confidence and many valuable additions would be made to the collection.

"The writer of this paper feels some diffidence in placing it before the Association, as until within the last few weeks, bibliography was not a study to which he had given much attention, but being at the time of the announcement of the visit of the Association to Ipswich engaged as a member of the corporation in preparing a catalogue of the library, he from that circumstance was requested to give some information upon its history and contents."

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Westhorp for his paper, a conversation ensued in relation to the library in general, and some of the books contained in it, principally by Lord Arthur Hervey and Mr. Pettigrew.

Mr. Thomas Shave Gowing read a paper on "Suffolk Local Etymology." He was assisted in preparing this paper in a great degree by "Domesday Book," made twenty years after the Conquest. There were very few remains of Roman nomenclature in the county. Some names of villages, etc., he derived from the names of tribes of Saxons and Danes; others he traced to the natural features of the places to which the names had been applied; some to Scandinavian theological terms; some to the customs of the places, etc.; and in this way he endeavoured to account for the name of almost every parish, hundred, river, etc., in the county and district.

The Chairman said the meeting would concur with him in thanking Mr. Gowing for his exceedingly ingenious paper, and join with him in admiring the enthusiasm which had enabled Mr. Gowing to pursue the subject as he has done. He then gave an outline of the proceedings of the following day, and concluded by expressing his great pleasure in seeing the Ven. Archdeacon Lord Arthur Hervey among them.

The Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey acknowledged the compliment, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman of this meeting.

The vote was responded to and the meeting separated.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 11, 1865.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were elected :

John Sebastian Chrestio-Renneck, Esq., Granville Place, Blackheath
 William Watson, Esq., Barnard Castle, Durham
 Richard Laurence Pemberton, Esq., The Barnes, Sunderland
 J. C. Thompson, Esq., Sherburn Hall, Durham.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- From the Society.* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. V. Part I. Edinb., 1864. 4to.
- " " Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and
 Archaeological Society. Vol. I. Part 3. Leicester, 1864. 8vo.
- " " Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheines-
 chen Geschichte und Alterthumer in Mainz. Mainz, 1864. 8vo.
- " " Führer in dem Museum. Mainz, 1863. 8vo.
- " " Archæologia Cambrensis for Jan. 1865. 8vo.
- " " The Canadian Journal for Sept. and Nov. 1864. 8vo.
- J. Alger, Esq.* Third Annual Report of the Acclimatisation Society of
 Sydney. Sydney, 1864. 8vo.
- G. Tate, Esq.* Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.
 Vol. V. No. 1. 1865. 8vo.
- The Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for Jan. 1865. 8vo.

Mr. F. J. Baigent forwarded a series of drawings in distemper, lately discovered and erased in the Church of St. Cross near Winchester. Mr. Gordon Hills, in the absence of Mr. Baigent, made observations on the several sketches, and stated that Mr. Baigent's remarks would be laid before a future meeting. The subjects are as follow :—No. 1, octagonal columns in the choir of the church, showing, among other

particulars, the opening made at the top of the column on the south side, and Purbeck marble base beneath the octagonal columns; 2, section of choir, looking south, with tower-piers; 3, high altar-slab discovered built into the east wall of the choir; 4, consecration-crosses on the high altar-slab; 5, elevation of wall, etc., on the north side of the choir, with painting in distemper; 6, aumbry and fragment of distemper discovered in the north wall; 7, fragment of distemper painting on wall on the north side of the choir; 8, elevation of wall on the south side of the choir, with painting in distemper; 9, fragment of St. Anne and the Blessed Virgin on the south wall of the choir; 10, diaper pattern discovered on the side-walls of the choir, on a black ground; 11, ditto on the walls of the north transept and on the walls of the side-chapels of the choir; 12, remains of distemper-painting on the side-walls of the chapel, on the north side of the choir, beneath the diaper-pattern on the same walls; 13, consecration-cross on the east wall of chapel, north side of the choir; 14, figure (probably St. Simeon) discovered on south side of east wall of the chapel on the north side of the choir; ditto (probably St. John the Evangelist) discovered on the window-splay at the east end of the same chapel; 15, matrix of a brass discovered on the side of the octagonal column in the chapel on the north side of the choir; 16, distemper-painting discovered on the south wall of the south transept; 17, elevation of the south end of the altar-recess in the east wall of south transept.

Lord Boston exhibited a forcer, or coffer, of English workmanship, conjectured to be of about the end of the fifteenth century, composed of stout iron plates joined and paneled by straps of the same metal, and secured by round-headed rivets. It stands on four cylindrical feet. At each end is a wide drop-handle; and at the back two stout staples with rings one inch and seven-eighths diameter, by which the little chest was secured to a wall by a bar or chain and padlock. The key-hole is in front, and shut in by a hinged strap, the spring of which must be depressed by a lever before it can be raised. The spring is reached through a perforation concealed by a sliding rivet. Within the forcer, at its dexter end, is a small trough with sliding-spring cover. This "strong box" is nearly eight inches and three-quarters wide by five inches and a quarter from back to front, inside measure, and (including feet) six inches and three-quarters high. It weighs exactly twelve pounds, and is painted of a dull green colour.

An enriched, arch-topped iron forcer, of the close of the fourteenth century, has been engraved in this *Journal* (ii, 306); and a flat-topped one with complicated lock-work, of the time of Henry VIII, is described in vol. xiii, 236. A steel panel of a coffer, graven with a bear-hunt, is also noticed in vol. xvi, 317.

Mr. J. T. Blight exhibited rubbings of two sepulchral crosses found

buried in the churchyard of Abergele, Denbighshire, North Wales, and recently built into the walls of the church porch. The edifice was erected in the fifteenth century, but the stones seem to be referrible to the thirteenth century. One, nearly two feet and a half high, has the cross within a broad ring, and a bulb at its junction with the shaft, which is elevated upon two steps. The second slab is nearly two feet ten inches high. The cross is also surrounded by a hoop, and has a rosette of eight petals in each quarter. The shaft is bulbed at the top, and rests on two steps. On the left side is a sword with a globose pommel, the grip criss-crossed, and with a horizontal guard. The presence of the sword is an interesting but not an uncommon accompaniment to the sepulchral cross. That the fashion is not confined to one county is shown by the following instances: *Cumberland*,—Newton Rigney, with arms of Vaux of Catterlen, twelfth century; *Derbyshire*,—Bakewell, Chelmerton, Darley Dale;¹ *Durham*,—Aycliffe; *Northumberland*,—Cambo, Haltwhistle (with arms of Blenkinsop), Newbigging, East Shaftoe; *Westmoreland*,—Brougham (Udard de Broham, 1185); *Wales*,—Rhuddlan, Flintshire, where the sword is accompanied by an axe. An axe also occurs on the monumental slab of David ap Jevan Llloyd at Langattock-juxta-Usk, but no sword is introduced.²

Dr. Palmer transmitted five objects discovered at, or in the neighbourhood of, Newbury, viz.,—1. Roman bulla of bronze found in Donnington square. It is a thin round box, an inch and a quarter diameter, hinged on one side, and secured on the other by a loop and staples, through which a pin has passed. It has a loop for suspension; and may be compared with an ornamented bulla given in Beger's *Thesaur. Brandenburg* (iii, 427). 2. Bronze signet-ring. The device is a crowned R.: date, fifteenth century: found at Compton Cow Down. Finger-rings of the same age, with a crowned R., seem to be somewhat common. One is given in Gardner's *History of Dunwich*, pl. 3; another, found at Swanton Morley, Norfolk, in the *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1792, p. 818; a third found near Dunwich, in *Gent. Mag.*, March 1806, p. 217; and a fourth found at Tonbridge, is mentioned in this *Journal*, vi, 450. 3. Cover of a heart-shaped locket of silver. On it are engraved the initials C.R., divided by a crowned profile bust to the left, in relief, of Charles II, which resembles that seen on the king's first silver coinage and small coronation-medals. It was found on Rush Common, the site of the first battle of Newbury. Heart-shaped lockets with the bust of Charles I have been described in this *Journal*, but this is the first example of such a locket with the portrait of Charles II which has been brought to our notice. 4. Obelisk-shaped pendant of black slate, about two inches and three-quarters high. It may be described as consisting of a square base, four square pillars supporting an abacus, on

¹ See *Journal*, ii, 257-58.

² *lb.*, ix, 80.

which rests a four-sided rhombic object capped by another abacus, above which is another rhombic object perforated through either side. Date, second half of the seventeenth century. Found near Newbury. Among the rarities at Don Saltero's Coffee House, Chelsea, was a chain with a similar pendant attached, the whole "cut out of the solid wood by a shepherd." 5. Globose water-pot holding a quarter of a pint, and having a loop on one side, fitted to pass between the bars of a large birdcage, and secured outside by a peg. The hard paste is of a light reddish stone colour; the whole surface decorated with brown "quilling," and covered with a yellow glaze. Date, seventeenth century. Found in Newbury five feet below the surface.

Dr. Palmer also made the following communication in reference to restorations which have been going on at the church of NEWBURY:—

"During the past two years the chancel of St. Nicholas' Church has been repaired and restored. Externally, the fine eastern window has been blocked up by stone work to the height of nearly four feet, and to the walls and gables have been added a rather heavy battlemented cornice and a cross at the eastern end. Internally, the whole of the dark-painted wood-work, with Corinthian columns, etc., has been removed, and a reredos substituted, the ground-work of which is gold, and panelled with emblematical devices of the four Evangelists; together with the Lamb and a crowned monogram, IHS. On the south side, there are sedilia with three panels, and an oak screen of chaste design, and carved. It fills the southern arch recently made for the choir.

"On the north side, there is a credence table, with elaborately carved canopy and finial. The panelling of the chancel walls is of Bath stone and Derbyshire alabaster, on which are painted scrolls with various scriptural texts.

"The stalls, altar-rails, and communion table are very handsome. An archway has been made in the north wall, corresponding with that on the south side, and communicating with the vestry room. Here is placed the fine old organ, which has been removed from the loft, where it stood when seen by the Association at the Berkshire Congress in 1859. The western window is now disclosed to view. The floor and steps leading to the altar are of black marble, and encaustic tiles. The roof is of oak, and the pendants to the boards are carved and picked out with rich colours and gold.

"The large eastern window has been filled with stained glass, a contribution from persons connected with Newbury families, or who once lived there, but are now non-residents. This window is in two compartments, figuring the Crucifixion and Ascension of our Saviour, which harmonises well with the other restorations. The effect will be enhanced when the windows in the clerestory are filled with stained glass and a soft light admitted from above.

"I fear these details may not prove interesting to the Society; but I am anxious to state that these restorations have been well carried out at considerable cost, and carefully avoiding the too usual destruction of monuments, etc.

"While cutting through the north wall, there was found among the rubble some remains, which I have thought it worth while to collect and send drawings of. The first is the nether-stone of a quern about eight or nine inches in diameter. It was imbedded in the wall, and while being removed was unfortunately broken. It is made of lava, probably from the district of Andernach, on the Rhine, or from the neighbouring volcanic region, whence this kind of stone was formerly largely exported. Fragments of a former building were also taken out: they consist principally of caps of columns, fragments of pillars, etc., some of them possibly parts of sedilia or arcades. There were also found two mason's line-pins. These will be seen to differ much from those of the present day, and the smith must have bestowed some labour on them, as they appear to be made of steel or very pure iron, and neatly fabricated."¹

Mr. Henry Thompson exhibited, through the Treasurer, an iconographic ring of gold, weighing two pennyweights eleven grains, and a groat of Edward III (*Civitas, London*) found near a skeleton with remains of a wooden coffin, by some labourers in draining land at the back of the Volunteer Inn on the left of Saxtead Green, Framlingham, May 1831. The bezel of the ring is divided into two concave panels by a high ridge, and in one is incised a group of the Holy Trinity—the Father supporting before him the crucified Saviour, above whose head is the dove. This treatment of the subject may be compared with French paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries given in Didron's *Christian Iconography*, i, 226, 503, and with a piece of sculpture of early sixteenth century work in the *Gent. Mag.*, January 1788, p. 9. The second panel displays the figure of the Virgin; and the hoop is wrought with a cable-pattern, with the flower of the Marguerite on the shoulders. Within the ring is the motto *De Bon Cœur*. Date, circa 1500. A gold iconographic ring of the same age and like motto, but with figures of St. Catherine and St. Margaret on the bezel, is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, September 1790, p. 798.

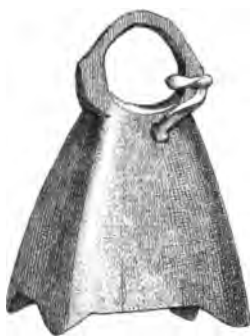
A further contribution from Mr. Thompson consisted of two little religious medals with loops for suspension:—1st, a circular one of copper with profile busts to the right of St. Peter and St. Paul, encircled by pellets; the *rev.*, void; date, sixteenth century. 2nd, an oval one of silver, having on one side a nude female kneeling before a crowned standing figure—legend, S.M.D. CARAVAGIO; *rev.*, the Crucified Saviour, S.S. CROCI. FI. D. SIROS; date, seventeenth century.

¹ Mr. Cuming produced a similar mason's line-pin recovered from the Thames, near the site of Old London Bridge, in 1846.

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2



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Mr. Thompson also exhibited some gold coins, viz.:—1. Quarter noble of Edward III. 2. Sovereign of James I—"Faciam Eos In Gentem Unam;" m.m. a cinque foil. 3. Double crown of Charles I—"Cultores Sui Deus Protegit;" m.m. a crown. There is a large hole through the bust, indicating that the coin may have been worn, like many of the angels of this monarch, as a touch piece. 4. Guinea of Anne, 1711. 5. Quarter moidore (weighing only twenty-three grains) of John V of Portugal, 1722. As late as the reign of George II, the gold money of France, Spain, and Portugal, was of legal currency in this country; and Mr. Cuming has a set of eight brass weights for foreign pieces, together with those for the English guinea, half and quarter.

Mr. W. D. Haggard, F.S.A., laid upon the table four fine impressions of portraits in his collection, being those of H.R.H. Prince William Henry Duke of Gloucester, and referred to a rare and curious book, *Memoirs of Prince William Henry Duke of Gloucester, from his birth, July 24th, 1689, to October 24th, 1697*," written by Jenkin Lewis, some time servant to her Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, afterwards queen of England, serving to illustrate the variety of costume represented on the portraits:—No. 1. The young prince in flowing robes, knee bare and sandals, hair natural, neck bare, with a sword by his side, and dressed in breeches—G. Kneller, *pinx.*; J. Smith *fec. et exc.* No. 2. Flowing hair, coat and waistcoat of the time, loose neckcloth, a star on the breast, and a bandelier on his shoulder—G. Kneller *pinx.*, 1699; J. Smith *fec.* No. 3. Upright figure, hair flowing, in the robes of the Garter, with the St. George on horseback suspended from his neck; at his side stands Master Benjamin Bathurst, holding a hat and feathers—T. Murray *pinx.*; J. Smith *fec. et exc.* No. 4. Three-quarters bust to the right (or nearly full face) in armour, a scarf lined with ermine over his shoulder, fastened by a brooch; neckcloth in a loose careless manner, hair curled and flowing. Round an oval in which the bust is placed is the legend William Duke of Gloucester. On a pedestal beneath is suspended a medallion on which Britannia is represented weeping—G. Kneller *pinx.*; J. Houbraken *sculp.*, 1745.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a fine coin of Ptolemy, found at Ancona; also a leaden bull of Pope John XXII, James d'Euse, 1316-1334; found at Maidstone, Kent.

Mr. J. B. Greenshields laid before the meeting an interesting group of antiquities, discovered in the parish of Lesmahago, Lanarkshire:—A Celtic coin of silver, weighing four dwts. five and a half grains, found upwards of fifty years since at Westown. *Obv.* Large profile to the right, which may be compared with that on the "Channel Island type," given in this *Journal* (iii, 62), and with the heads on the silver coins in Ruding, pl. iii, 46, 47. *Rev.* A charioteer, with a lyre-like

object below the horse resembling that seen on the gold coins. See also *Journal*, v, 11; xvii, 333; and on pieces in Ruding, pl. i, 7; ii, 25, 33; iii, 45, 48. On the Westown coin, Mr. Evans, F.S.A., remarked that "It is of a very common type, such as was originally struck in Armorica and the adjacent islands, and of which there were a large number in the great hoard of coins discovered in Jersey some years ago. Eighty-nine of them are engraved in the first four plates of Donop's account of that hoard, and another is engraved in Lambert's *Numismatique Gauloise*, pl. v, 2. They are frequently found all along the north-west coast of France. The most remarkable circumstance in connection with the present specimen is its having been found so far north as Lanarkshire, though a coin of the same type, engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, iii, 153, No. 5, is said to have been discovered near Hexham." A bronze figure of a horse and a bronze bell, found about thirty years ago at Birkwood. The horse (see pl. 3, fig. 3) is of a very rude design, and reminds us of the great steed in Berkshire (*Journal*, xvi, 30). It may be classed with the bull engraved in this *Journal*, xvii, 112, also found in Lanarkshire; and the brazen elephant discovered at Toddington, Bedfordshire, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. 28, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1840, p. 633. They all probably served as lares or penates, and bear a resemblance in style of art to the archaic bronzes of Etruria. The bell (fig. 2) is four-sided, with a sort of little foot at each corner, and a large loop at the top by which it was suspended round the neck of a sheep. *Tintinnabuli* of this form are frequently found with Roman remains, but it is worthy of remark that some of the oldest Britannic bells with which we are acquainted are four-sided, like the examples given in Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 652-660. A Roman horse-bell of hemispheroid form was recently submitted to the Association, and is figured in vol. xix of the *Journal* (pl. 5, fig. 2, p. 68). Other objects were found at Auchlochan, being portions of two urns or cups of light red earth, moulded by hand, imperfectly kiln-baked, and ornamented with lines of punctures, apparently of late Celtic fabric; a stud or button of canal coal, nearly seven-eighths diameter, of low conic form. Wilson (p. 300) mentions the discovery at Dubbs, Ayrshire, 1832, of five studs or buttons of different sizes, the largest more than an inch diameter, wrought of highly polished jet, which must have closely resembled this specimen; and a portion of the field of a Roman hand-mirror, perhaps one of the famous *specula* of Brundisium, alluded to in the *Journal*, xvii, 282.

Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, produced some antiquities obtained by him, and collected together for exhibition at the late Congress in Suffolk. The principal object is one of good workmanship and elegant contour. It is a bust of Jupiter, measuring full two inches in height by one



and three-quarters in breadth. It is represented on plate 3, fig. 1. It was purchased at Bridgewater. The other antiquities consist of fibulæ, some of which it has been thought proper to engrave on plate 4.

A brooch of a circular form, with bulbous terminations, like to examples found in Ireland. The tongue is looped round the hoop as in various fibulæ, represented in the *Journal* (iii, 97; vi, 156; xviii, 394) and in the *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, p. 327. Mr. Warren's specimen was found by a shepherd at Icklingham, May 3, 1859. See pl. 4, fig. 1.

A harp-shaped fibula of admirable fabric, and beautifully patinated. In general character it is identical with an example in the *Journal* (iii, 97, fig. 4). Found in a sandpit at Icklingham. See fig. 2.

Another harp-shaped fibula, which may be compared with three already given in the *Journal*, x, 17, fig. 17; xvii, 112, fig. 2; and xix, 68, fig. 7). The large wire ring at the top to which a chain was once attached, is worthy of notice. This was found at West Stow.

A fibula, inclining to the harp-shape. The upper part has terminated in a ring, and the centre is decorated with a disc of white enamel, around which has been a small circle of silver. The arms moved between staples set rather wide apart, and was received in a hasp. It is of the same age as the example from Colchester, given in the *Journal*, ii, 42. Found at Pakenham by a boy employed in picking grass. See fig. 3.

A circular fibula, the middle of which has had a projecting ornament as in an example in the *Journal*, xvi, 270, fig. 2. The centre rises from a disc of white enamel, in which are six sockets, arranged in a circle, once set, but now without its ornaments. The broad verge is decorated with twelve bars of blue enamel, radiating from the white disc like the spokes of a wheel from the nave. The *acus* was hinged between two staples and received into a hasp. Found at Icklingham. See fig. 4.

A circular fibula, one inch diameter, which has been decorated with enamel. It may be compared with the large stud engraved in the *Journal*, xix, 69, fig. 6; but the circle of seventeen pellets is placed between the verge and central ring. The *acus* moved between staples, and was provided with a hasp. Found at Pakenham.

An Anglo-Saxon brooch, five and a quarter inches high; the face plated with gold, and the square upper member having forty-four shallow sockets, which once held gems or coloured glass. Traces of the iron pin still remain between the two staples, and the hasp is of unusual length. This magnificent example calls to recollection the one found in Northamptonshire, given in this *Journal*, i, 61; but the two differ much in detail, and form a marked contrast to the Ufford brooch

in our *Journal*, xviii, 225, fig. 4. Of the design and execution of these brooches, varying in different degrees and decorations of more or less splendour, the reader is referred to Mr. Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, plates 7, 8, 14, 16, 20, 37, and 40; also to the *Journal*, v. ii, p. 311. Found at Stow Heath, 1849. See fig. 5.

A Danish brooch, one inch and one-eighth diameter, having in the centre a lion or griffin-like animal filling the field. This may be compared with that on the leaden brooch in this *Journal*, ii, 313, but is of a more rude, and probably earlier fabric. Found at Icklingham, Aug. 1855. See fig. 6.

A dove-shaped femail, decorated with thirteen tubular collets, once set with gems or other ornaments, but now absent; around the base of each of which is a six-petaled rosette. These collets are like to the ancient jewelled femails given in a previous paper of the *Journal*, xviii, 227, and the famous trinkets known as the Lorn, Lockbury, and Glenlyon brooches, which are probably of the fourteenth century, to which period this may be considered to belong. The wire to secure the brooch is hinged by passing through the breast of the bird, after which it crosses its front in an upward direction. This ornament was found in a garden at the east end of Ixworth Street, March 1854. See fig. 7.

A femail, inscribed with the names of the three kings of Cologne thus, + IASPAR. MELCIOR. B., followed by an oval stamp of St. Catharine with sword and wheel. The orthography of these royal names is by no means settled; the first is sometimes Jasper and Gaspar, the latter Baltasar and Baltazar, as on the great Glenlyon femail; and Mr. Cuming has an octangular medal which reads GASPAR. MELOHIOB. BAL-THASAR. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1834, p. 49, mention is made of a ring reading Jasper, Batasar, Altrapa. For the cover of a vessel and rings bearing the names of the kings of Cologne, see *Journal*, ii, 100; and iii, 54. The names occur upon various trinkets, employed as charms, instances of which are given in Pettigrew's *Medical Superstitions*, p. 58. The femail now exhibited is of the close of the fourteenth century, and was found at Ixworth. See fig. 8.

JANUARY 25TH.

GEORGE VERN IRVING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. J. A. Giles, LL.D., of Cranford, Middlesex

John Heseltine Barclay, Esq., of the Stock Exchange

Greville H. Palmer, Esq., Magd. Coll. Oxon, and Canon Hill, Maidenhead

John Henry Bly, Esq., Market Place, Great Yarmouth
were elected Associates.

James Murton, Esq., of Silverdale, Lancaster, transmitted various examples of earthen vessels found in his neighbourhood, and accompanied the exhibition with the following memoranda, addressed to the Treasurer :—

“ I think it worth while to invite attention to the remains of old pottery found at this place. There appears to be no tradition or record whatever which can give any clue to the date of manufacture ; but it is evident from the *débris* remaining of various kilns, that at some period pottery of a coarse kind was made here to a considerable extent. The sites of these ovens or kilns are on rather high ground, where there is no clay, but where the soil is extremely thin on mountain limestone rock a few hundred yards from the sea-shore. About a mile or a mile and a half distant, are peat mosses, under which marl is found in many spots, and it may, perhaps, be this marl which has formerly been used by the potters and taken to the higher ground for the convenience of baking with charcoal—of which material abundant traces may be seen about these old ovens. It may fairly be assumed that in former times the high ground in this neighbourhood was almost entirely covered with wood, which would be converted into charcoal for various purposes. The question is, can any date be assigned to these potteries ? People here have from time immemorial found coarse earthen vessels when making excavations, and from all I can learn they partake of one character, but vary in size. I may add that some spots in the locality bear names which point to the existence of potteries at some period, such as ‘Oven Garth,’ etc.”

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the home origin of the Silverdale pottery was well established by the presence of the kilns in which it was fired, as also by the spoiled and unfinished pieces of the ware exhibited. But were it not for these facts, the compact gray paste employed in the manufacture bears so close a resemblance to that of many of the old jugs and pots from the Low Countries, that we might conjecture it to be of foreign fabric. The question is, therefore, not where, but when, were these pieces made ; and Mr. Cuming unhesitatingly assigned them to the early part of the seventeenth century, the greenish-bronze leaden glaze agreeing perfectly with that seen in the coarser wares of that period. Judging from the remains brought to notice, the chief manufacture at Silverdale seems to have been various sized spigot-pots, i.e., vessels with a perforation towards the bottom for the insertion of the faucet. Such pots were in extensive use during the seventeenth century for strong-drinks. Mr. Murton’s communication adds a new instance to the history of British pottery ; for, hitherto, the only Lancashire wares of which we have heard, are those of Liverpool and Prescot, neither of which date back earlier than the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Dr. John Harker, of Lancaster, communicated a paper on British Interments at Lancaster, which, with illustrations, will appear in a future *Journal*.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne exhibited the steel dies for a York half-crown of Charles I. This relic had been entrusted to his care by Robert Menzies, Esq., of Wood Hall, near Howden, to whom it was presented by his relative the late Rev. Dr. Criggon, formerly Rector of Marston, in Yorkshire. It was accidentally found by an agricultural labourer a few years ago, whilst employed in stocking up a hedge in this parish. Marston Moor is well known in history as the site of the battle between Prince Rupert and the Parliamentary generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, on July 4th, 1644, on which occasion the dies were no doubt lost. The standard or lower die is eleven-sixteenths of an inch thick and one inch eleven-sixteenths square, and appears to have been fixed into a block of wood or an anvil, and is engraved with the *rev.* of the coin—the Royal Arms in a round shield, and motto CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO. The trussell or upper die is one inch and a half thick and one inch three-quarters square, and bears the *obv.* of the piece—an equestrian effigy of the king with the word EBOR beneath the horse, and circumscribed CAROLVS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. REX. M. M. a star (?). Round the trussell is a collar about one inch and a quarter wide which fits over the standard to keep the two halves steadily together during the process of striking the money. When these dies were found there was a thin irregular square piece of lead between them, which has received a slight impress of both the *obv.* and *rev.* of the coin. In construction, these dies may be compared with those for a shilling of James I, engraved in this *Journal*, ii, 352; and it may be stated that other dies for the money of Charles I are mentioned in vols. iii, 252, ix, 82.

Lord Boston exhibited four elegant examples of ladies' card purses of the Stuart period. The earliest two are of the middle of the seventeenth century, composed of four gores of cloth of gold woven with different designs in silver and coloured silks. The gores of one display borders of flowers and leaves issuing from cornucopiæ of silver-thread and blue, red, and green silks, enclosing alternately a cupid following a peacock, and a cupid holding a little red heart against the edge of a grindstone, worked by wheel and treddle; the idea being apparently derived from an ancient gem. The seams are piped with gold fabric; and pear-shaped objects, covered with gold tissue, serve to draw open the mouth of the purse, which is lined throughout with crimson satin. The second purse displays a large cupid and chasseur alternately, both of silver with dark outlines. The gores containing the cupids have bold scroll borderings, the cupid bearing a dart in his left hand, whilst in the right a flaming heart is held up, with five lesser ones on either

side, and a large flaming one with wings above. Over all is a motto, *IE FVIS LA FOYLE*. The hunter wears a gay hat and feather, is mounted on a galloping steed, and attended by two hounds pursuing the deer in the forest. The seams of the purse are piped with gold, its mouth closed with stout golden twist, and lined with green satin.

The remaining card purses are of the time of Queen Anne, wrought with the same diamond pattern, but differing in colour. In one it is composed of purple silk and silver, in the other of white and pink silks; each diamond has two strawberries in its middle, those on the first purse having golden calices, whilst those of the second are of green silk. The bases of the purses consist of spirals of silver and gold thread, with a little red tuft or tassel in the centre, and the mouth of each specimen is drawn together with crimson silk cords and tufts.

A fifth purse, exhibited also by Lord Boston, is a good example of the large *porte-monnaie*, with a receptacle at either end, of about the year 1700. It measures full twenty-four inches, and is of knitted green silk, the centre being wrought with three lines of zigzag pattern; the sides of the bags being of open and the bases of close stitches, terminating in tassels.

To the foregoing was added a little purse or pouch of Turkish manufacture, obtained by Lord William Paget during his embassy at the Court of the Grand Seignor, at the close of the seventeenth century. It is of a brown fabric woven of camel's hair, and lined with light blue silk, stout white paper being placed between the two substances. It is provided with a suspending loop of camel's-hair braid, and the mouth is drawn together with similar braids having tassels at the ends, whilst loops and tassels of the same material decorate other portions of the purse.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming then read the following

NOTES ON PURSES.

Since the history of purses appeared in our *Journal* (xiv, 131-144) a few highly interesting examples have been produced, and it may be useful to refer briefly to them. The youngest in point of age is the oldest in fashion, viz., a *kees-el-floos* of netted silks from Morocco, exhibited by the late Mr. Corner on February 24th, 1858. To the upper edge of this *kees* is attached a long pointed net of pink silk with tasseled end, the entrance being on one side. This specimen seems in some degree to resemble the long purses of Europe, but it has but one receptacle for money, the network above being used to wind round the waist-girdle so that the sack depended beneath it. The purse in the hand of Mercury has frequently a tuft at its apex, showing that the mouth must have been at the side as in the Morocco specimen, which seems to preserve a type of money-bag of at least 2000 years antiquity.

To the European purses have been added one by Mr. Forman on May 25, 1859, of a very elegant description; the heart-shaped sides of silver filigrane being set with plaques of enamel, and lined with blue silk striped with orange and white. At the same time I exhibited a heart-shaped plaque of enamel from a similar purse, the gaudy design on which is entitled *Fortune aveugle l'amour*. These specimens are of the early part of the seventeenth century.

Next in date are two money pouches or dole bags, of coloured velvet, with metal mounts and clasps, worn in all probability by almoners on state occasions, towards the close of the seventeenth century, and to which attention was directed on January 12 and December 7, 1859.

The specimens submitted for inspection by Lord Boston furnish proof of the rich character of the patrician card purses of the seventeenth and dawn of the eighteenth centuries, as well as what may be regarded as the ordinary *porte-monnaie* of the end of the reign of William of Nassau. The latter is of the exact length of a specimen described in our *Journal* (xiv, 142), but I now produce one which measures no less than twenty-nine inches, formed of a lutestring-ribbon six inches wide, of shaded stripes of pink, green, and white, and others of these hues mingled together. The "long purse" belonged to an ancestor of the late Sir William Syer, in the reign of Charles II, at which time lutestring is numbered among the costly fabrics employed by the higher classes of society.

Lord Boston's two card purses of the time of Anne are what were termed *cup-purses*, from being wrought on a cup-formed mould of turned wood, one of which, of about the year 1700, I exhibit. It is of beech, with a perforation through its dome top, to permit the fixing of the silk or metal thread used in the construction of the purse.

To the bag-formed purses, *i.e.* to those with strings to draw the mouth together, I add two more examples of about the same age as the last-mentioned card purses; the one being of strongly-knitted green silk, the diagonal bands thick and solid, with open stitches between them. The second purse is tatted of red and white silk in open double lattice pattern, with tassel at the base, and is a most delicate instance of this once fashionable kind of work.

The purse or pouch from Turkey is of interest, not only from its age and history, but from its material being camel's-hair. It is recorded by St. Matthew that the Apostle John "had his raiment of camel's-hair;" and a costly fabric of this substance was brought from Asia in the middle ages, called by the old writers *camelotum* and *camelin*, whence comes the modern *camlet*. In the East there are two distinct fabrics made of camel's-hair, the one woven as the Turkish purse, which I consider represents the ancient *camelotum*, the other a thick felt, of which cloaks are made, of which I produce an example, brought

some years since from Bagdad, and which in all probability resembles the material of the raiment of St. John.

Let me, in conclusion, say a few words respecting two denominations of purses, about which much obscurity exists, viz., the *halfpenny purse* and the *walnut purse*, which I suspect were much nearer allied than their names would at first suggest. Ursula, in Ben Jonson's play of *Bartholomew Fair* (ii, 3), speaks of "cutting halfpenny purses," which at once indicates that they were worn dangling by the side; and the question is, whether they were sold at the charge of one halfpenny, or designed as receptacles of the coin. I think the latter to be the true signification of the title; and their diminutive proportions seem implied by the way in which they are referred to by Shakespeare. Thus Ford, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (iii, 5), says that Falstaff "cannot creep into a halfpenny purse, nor into a pepper-box;" and Costard, in *Love's Labour Lost* (v, 1), calls Moth "thou halfpenny purse of wit—thou pigeon-egg of discretion." Of the second denomination of purse we find mention in the curious *Chapman's Inventory*, dated April 1626, printed by Mr. Hopper, in our last volume, p. 259, where we read, "Item 8 walnott purses at 2s." Now this title might be given to a minute purse held in a walnut-shell like a pair of Limerick gloves, but I have seen an old purse, the lower part of which was the half of a walnut shell, the lining and upper portion being of blue silk, the mouth drawn together by a long cord, and looking much like a little reticule. I doubt not that this was a veritable "walnott purse," intended to hold silver halfpence, a species of money which appeared in the reign of our first Edward, and continued to be minted by most of his successors down to Charles I, in whose time it vanished, to be replaced in the year 1665 by a copper piece of the same name and value, issued by command of King Charles II. The walnut purse was surely but one kind of halfpenny purse, the small size of which may account for its loss and consequent obscurity of character.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze miniature figure of a caryatide found at Herculaneum. It represented a semi-nude dancing-girl in an elegant pose with the legs crossed.

Mr. Charles Faulkner exhibited rubbings of two diminutive coffin slabs found upon digging a grave at Deddington Church, Oxon, which measured only twenty inches and a half in length, one foot in breadth, and four inches and a half in thickness. They are of marl-stone, sculptured, and present a floreated cross. The edge of one is also sculptured. Mr. Roberts attributed them to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. They will, with other specimens formerly transmitted to the Association, be arranged and form the subject of a paper. Mr. Planché suggested they might be memorials of children.

Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., exhibited a part of a wooden window

frame taken from Framlingham Church, Suffolk, during the restorations, and by the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Manning, of Diss, entrusted to Mr. Roberts for exhibition. It is conjectured to be of early Norman date, is circular, about ten inches in diameter, and has perforations and the edge arranged in a peculiar manner for lacing. Mr. Roberts accompanied this exhibition by some remarks upon the earliest lattice windows referred to in the Old Testament, and the continuance to this day of similar lattices in the East, and upon the modes of carving and lacing windows prior to the introduction of glass. The subject will appear with illustrations in a future *Journal*.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Rev. Scott F. Surtees has just printed an interesting little work, entitled *Waifs and Strays of North-Humber History*. It is divided into four chapters, severally headed—"Local Nomenclature," "The Last Battle of Hengest, and his Burial Place," "Waifs and Strays of North Humber History," and "Modern Topography and Local Relics," the last illustrated by engravings of the "*Frith Stols*," at Hexham and Sprotburgh. The earlier chapters of this work were read at the annual meeting of the Association at Leeds, 1863; and those who had the gratification of listening to the reverend gentleman's lucid paper, need not be informed of the talent, research, and deep reasoning therein displayed. That the author's views will meet with universal acceptance is not to be expected, but none who peruse his *Waifs and Strays* can do otherwise than admire the industry and skill with which he has gathered up and arranged a large number of facts, and shewn how one gives support to another. The designations of the chapters preclude the necessity of any minute analysis of Mr. Surtees' little volume, which dwells more especially on the obscure events of the second half of the fifth century, but still deals in full and ample measure of succeeding eras so far as they relate to North-Humber. We cannot, however, help observing that the author writes with such a strong Teutonic bias, that he seems to overlook "the good deeds" of the brave old Britons and their Roman masters, and to magnify those of the Saxons to an undue extent, as he certainly does in page 47. His remarks in page 78 respecting the Normans, are at once forcible and just, and the oppressed people of this land must have hailed Duke William and his proud captains as deliverers from Dano-Saxon thralldom. We commend Mr. Surtees' able little work to all lovers of history and topography, whether dwelling north or south of the Humber.

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THE EARLS OF EAST ANGLIA.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

AT our Congress in the adjoining county of Norfolk, under the presidency of the Earl of Albemarle, in 1857, I had the honour to read some observations on a remarkable companion and victim of William the Conqueror, well known to readers of English history as Raoul de Gael; generally represented by ancient as well as modern historians as an adventurer, who was munificently rewarded for his services at Hastings by the gift of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the hand of the daughter of William Fitz Osborne, the powerful Earl of Hereford; and branded as an ungrateful traitor, who speedily repaid his benefactor by organising a conspiracy against him, for the which he justly forfeited lands and honours, and saved his life only by an ignominious flight, to terminate it in obscurity, poverty, and exile.

I trust I was successful in proving the falsehood, misrepresentation, and exaggeration of these statements; originally promulgated, probably, by party feeling, and repeated without examination by modern historians. Instead of his being an adventurer, a mere soldier of fortune, it is clear that he was the son and heir of Radulphus, or Ralph, "the great Earl," as he was sometimes called, whose mother was Goda, the sister of King Edward the Confessor; that he had a legitimate claim to the earldom of East Anglia, as successor to his father; and that, like many other nobles and

knights in the army of the Conqueror, he fought to win back his own lands and dignities from Saxon usurpers and intruders; that the faithless monarch was truly the ungrateful traitor, and the conspiracy the natural consequence of his crimes.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to take up the history of this earldom from the point at which I left it at Norwich, and propose to trace its descent through the great family of Bigot to its connexion with the royal family of England in the person of Thomas de Brotherton. It would appear that the earldom of East Anglia remained in the crown, or was vacant from the period of Raoul's flight and exile during the rest of the reign of William the Conqueror, and the whole of the reigns of his two sons, William Rufus and Henry I; for we are told by Roger de Wendover that Hugh Bigot, son and heir of Roger Bigot, sewer to the latter sovereign, being present at the death of that monarch in Normandy, hastened back to England, and testified upon oath before the archbishop of Canterbury and others, the nobility of the realm, that King Henry willed upon his deathbed that Stephen, his nephew, and not the Empress Maud, his daughter, who had grievously displeased him, should succeed him on the English throne; for which oath King Stephen, in the first year of his reign (1135), made this Hugh Earl of Norfolk.

Before, however, we discuss this point, I must say a few words on the origin of the family of Bigot, or Bygod, as it is indifferently written.

Wace, in his metrical history of the Conquest, tells us that amongst the companions of the Conqueror was "the ancestor of Hue le Bigot, who had lands at Maletot and at Loges and Chanon, and served the duke in his house as one of his seneschals, which office he held in fee. He had with him a large troop, and was a noble vassal. He was small of body, but very brave and bold, and assaulted the English with his mace gallantly." This ancestor of Hugh Bigot, or Le Bigot, was Roger, son, as it is supposed, of Robert Bigot, a kinsman of Richard D'Avranches; and who quitted the service of William Werlone, Comte de Mortain, to attach himself to the Duke of Normandy, whose favour he speedily secured.¹ The derivation of the name of Bigot is still a dis-

¹ Guillaume de Jumièges, v. ii, c. 19.

puted point. It is clear, however, that it was not the name of a town or castle, the birth-place or manorial residence of this "ancestor," as the prefix to it is "le" and not "de". The Frenchmen of the eleventh century, Wace tells us, continually spoke with scorn of the Normans, and called them "Bigoz" and "Drarchiers." The latter word is understood to mean consumers of barley, perhaps beer-drinkers; but "Bigoz" is said by some to be the northern form of the adjuration, "by God"; a war-cry of the early Normans, and answering to the later "Dex aie," or "Dieu aide," used by them at the battle of Hastings. Anderson, in his genealogical tables, says, without quoting his authority, that Rollo was called "By-got" from his frequent use of the phrase. Mr. Edgar Taylor, in his notes to his translation of Wace's poem, tells us he has found Bigot, Bihot, Wigot, Wihot, and Wigelot,—all forms, perhaps, of the same name; and gives an engraving of a signet-ring found on one of their Norfolk estates, exhibiting the figure of a goat with the word "by" over it; being a rebus of the name, "By-goat." The latter circumstance is a mere curiosity, of no importance to the question of derivation. I am inclined, looking at the mode in which it was used by the Franks or French in the tenth and eleventh centuries, to consider the name identical with Visigoth, and denoting the descent of the Bigots from some distinguished chief of that nation. We have "le Angevin," "le Fleming," "le Breton," "le Poitevin," "le Scot," etc.; and in this category I think we may class "le Vigot," an abbreviation of "le Visigot," spelt also, as we find it, indifferently with a "b" or a "w" (Bigot and Wigot), according to the particular dialect of the writers. The application of the name to the Normans generally at the very time when the family in which we are interested was first rising into importance, while it proves that the appellation was not derived from any hereditary possession or personal peculiarity, as in other cases, also testifies to the purity of the race, which was distinguished amongst its own people by the designation of that great division of the Gothic stock whence they commonly proceeded.

Robert Bigot, as I have mentioned, was a kinsman of Richard D'Avranches, the father of Hugh Earl of Chester; and some of the family appear to have followed the fortunes of that great nobleman, for his charter to the abbey of

St. Werburgh, *circa* 1094, is witnessed by a Roger Bigod and Bigod de Loges; and a subsequent charter of Ranulph, surnamed "Meschnies," Earl of Chester, by a "Robertus filii Bigoti." Whether the Roger Bigod who witnessed Earl Hugh's charter to St. Werburgh, was the father of Hugh first earl of the East Angles of that family, or another of the same name, I will not undertake to determine; but Roger Bigot, companion of the Conqueror, married Adeliza, one of the daughters and coheirs of Hugh de Grantmenil, seneschal of England; having been rewarded for his services at the battle of Hastings by the grant of six lordships in England, and one hundred and seventeen in Suffolk. He took part with Robert Courtheuse against William Rufus, and fortified the Castle of Norwich on behalf of the former; but on the accession of Henry I he adhered to that monarch, became his great favourite, received from him the Castle of Framlingham, and by his advice and that of Queen Maud and Herbert the bishop, founded the Abbey of Thetford in 1103; and, dying Sept. 15th, 1107, was buried there according to Ordericus Vitalis, who has preserved the epitaph on Roger's tomb.

By his wife, Adeliza or Adelia, he is said to have had seven children: 1, William, his son and heir, who, by his charter confirming his father's gifts to Thetford, informs us that he was "dapifer regis Anglorum"; 2, Hugh Bigot, the first earl; 3, Richard; 4, Geoffrey, 5, John; 6, Maud, wife of William de Albeny, Pincerna; and 7, Gunnora, who married, first Robert de Essex, and secondly Hamo de Clare. William's charter is witnessed by another William Bigot and a Humphrey Bigot; how connected with the grantor we have no evidence to prove. It is not uncommon to find two sons baptised by the same name at this period; but William, the witness, might have been his nephew William, son of his brother Hugh. William, the dapifer, perished in the unfortunate *Blanche Nef* (the white ship) with the children of Henry I, in 1119. It does not appear that he was married; at all events he had no male issue, for he was succeeded by his brother Hugh, who, as I have before stated, on the authority of Roger de Wendover, was rewarded by Stephen for his testimony in his favour by the earldom of East Anglia, in which dignity he was subsequently confirmed by King Henry II.

We are now about to get into difficulties. Hugh Bigod, earl, or consul as he is sometimes called, of the East Angles, married undoubtedly Juliana, daughter to Alberic de Vere, by whom he had his son and successor, Roger Bigot; and apparently four other sons, Baldwin, Hugh, Simon, and Nicholas. It would also appear that Juliana survived him, and remarried with Walkeline de Maminot; for there are many charters extant by both one and the other, tending to corroborate that assertion; yet we have Robert du Mont, a contemporary writer, who states that Earl Hugh had a *second* son William by Margaret his wife, daughter of Robert Sutton. Another genealogist, Sir William Segar, gives him two sons, Hugh and William, by a wife named Gundreda, who married afterwards Roger de Glainville. Of course the earl could not leave three widows,—at least we will do him the justice to believe he did not; but if there be any truth in the assertion of Robert du Mont, Margaret Sutton must have been the *first* wife of Hugh; and their son William, if a second son, the second son of that first wife, and not a younger brother of Roger who succeeded to the earldom. Both these sons must also have died before Roger could have succeeded, and there are certainly some curious circumstances which appear to give a colour to this view of the case. Earl Hugh is said to have died in the Holy Land in the year 1177, seventy years after the death of his father, Roger! This is certainly not impossible; but when we consider that he had three younger brothers, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, to say nothing of his two sisters, who might have been his seniors, there is some difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory calculation of the ages of either the parents or the children.¹

As far as the lineal succession of the earldom is concerned, the documentary evidence appears conclusive. We have first a charter of Henry II, executed in or before the year 1161, by which he creates, or rather confirms Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, giving to him and his heirs the third penny of the pleas and also the office of dapifer, to hold as his *father* Roger held it in the time of King Henry, the granter's

¹ In a MS., "Vincent 10" (Coll. Arms), there is a very rough pedigree in which Hugh Bigot, son of Roger, is made to die in 1136, and *his* son Hugh in 1177. The authority quoted is Fabian, who states that the first Hugh died very shortly after he was made earl.

grandfather. Secondly, we have the charter of Richard I, dated the 27th day of November, at Westminster, in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1190, by which he creates Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk by the gift of the third penny of the pleas of Norwich and of Norfolk, which Earl Hugh, his *father*, had in the time of King Henry, the father of Richard, and reconstitutes the said Roger and his heirs seneschals, as were Roger, his *grandfather*, and Earl Hugh, his *father*, in the times of the grandfather and father of King Richard. These statements are so clear and precise, that they admit of no dispute or other interpretation. Earl Roger was the son of Earl Hugh, and the grandson of Roger le Bigot, dapifer or seneschal to King Henry I; and next we have the charters of Earl Roger to prove that Juliana was his mother, and that he had a wife named Ida. One is a charter of confirmation of the grant of the church of Middleton to the church of St. Mary of Linton, which he states he does for the health of the souls of Earl Hugh, his *father*, the Countess Juliana, his *mother*, the Countess Ida, his *wife*, and of all his ancestors and successors. Another, by which he gives the church of Dovercourt and the chapel of Harwich to the abbey of Colne, contains a similar declaration; but by what may have been a slip of the pen of the scribe, or of the composing stick of the printer, we have "*Comitis Hugo fratris mei*," in lieu of "*patris mei*," an error, if it be one, which, from some notes on a slip of paper in Vincent's own copy of his "*Discoverie*," preserved in the College of Arms, appears to have puzzled the great genealogist Glover, Somerset herald, and is set down for examination by Vincent. That it is an error is very probable, for I had occasion to point out a similar one in my notice of the Earls of Leicester; but it is a tempting circumstance, as at first sight it seems to help us out of part of our difficulties. Taken in conjunction with the assertion of Fabian that Hugh the first earl died shortly after his creation by Stephen, we should not only reduce the extraordinary number of years between the death of Roger and his son, the said Hugh, but also have another earl to dispose of to one of these very awkwardly situated countesses.

There is unfortunately no means of dating either of these charters of Roger, except that as in each he styles himself Earl of Norfolk, they must be subsequent to 1190, the first of

Richard I, in the November of which year, as we have just seen, the earldom was granted to him. His mother, Juliana, was then probably dead; but she is supposed to have outlived his father, who died 1177, and also her second husband, Walkeline Maminot. How, then, are we to understand the following precise and apparently official statement. "Gundreda, Countess of Norfolk, in the reign of King Stephen, during her coverture, purchased a knight's fee in Langhale of Robert son of Rowland, for sixty marks, which Roger, son of Earl Hugh recovered against her, *after his father's death*, according to the judgment of the law, whereby a wife cannot purchase any land, etc., to herself during her husband's life." (Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, vol. 10, p. 162.) Now, though Mr. Bloomfield does not quote his authority for this, and I have not as yet been able to find it, there is a record on which I have lighted, distinctly proving the Countess Gundreda to be living, and again a widow, in 1199-1200, the first year of the reign of King John. In the court rolls of that year, the Countess Gundreda impleaded Robert de Crea for such part of her dower as was derivable from Jokeford, Middleton, and Ruhton, of the gift of Roger de Glanvil, "quondam viri sui." Thomas le Bigot is named in the same suit, and Gundreda Comitissa appears concerned in several legal proceedings of that date. How then are we to account for the Countess Juliana, whom we know from his own statement was the mother of Roger Earl of Norfolk, being the wife and widow of Walkeline Maminot. There were two of this name, father and son. The former, son of Hugh Maminot, died before 1160 (sixth of Henry II), as in that year Walkeline the second paid scutage for the lands he had in fee. He therefore could not have married the widow of a man who survived him seventeen years. The second Walkeline might have done so; but there is the fact of the existence of the Countess Gundreda, which it would require all the persuasive eloquence of a Gladstone to "explain away." I should at once agree with Sir William Segar, who reverses the circumstances, and makes Earl Hugh marry Juliana, the *widow* of Maminot (of course the elder), but for the equally awkward fact that Walkeline, in his charter to Bermondsey, styles his wife Juliana countess, and by that dignity she describes herself as witness to that instrument. The charter is without

date, but one of the witnesses is William de Ver, her brother, who was made Bishop of Hereford in 1186. It must, therefore, have been previous to that date, or he would have signed as bishop. But it might have been as early as 1159, if the charter is by the elder Wakeline, at which period Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, was living. At all events, there is the charter of Michael de Thurnam to the Canons of Cumbwell, which is dated 1168, and witnessed by the Countess Juliana and Thomas Bigot, and according to the received date of 1177, this was also during the lifetime of the first Earl Hugh. It would seem presumptuous in me to offer to do what such genealogists as Glover, Vincent, Dugdale, and Segar have not succeeded in doing; but at all events, their failure and confusion may absolve me in your eyes for not having as yet succeeded in elucidating this perplexing mystery.

Respecting the third wife, Margaret de Sutton, I have found not the slightest trace of her to support the assertion of Robert du Mont; but I shall have occasion to refer to it.

We next come to Roger Bigot, son of the first Earl Hugh by his countess Juliana, and find that although he should have succeeded his father in 1177, he does not appear to have been earl before 1190, the first year of the reign of Richard I, when, as we have seen, the third penny of the pleas was granted to him by that monarch. In 1191, the castle of Hereford was committed to the custody "comiti Rogeri Bigott," "about which time," Vincent observes in a MS. note, "we may probably guess he first took the title of earl."¹ To this Earl Roger the pedigrees generally give for a wife Isabella, daughter to Hameline Plantagenet, Earl of Warren and Surrey; but by his charter we have seen that he had a wife named Ida, and from the lack of dates and circumstances which might supply them, we are unable to ascertain whether she was his first or second wife. At all events, she was married to him before 1190, as he styles himself "Comes Norfolkiae," and his grant to Colne Abbey before mentioned is witnessed by his son Hugh Bigot, who succeeded him about 1218. It is remarkable that although all the pedigrees give this Isabella, the daughter of Hameline Earl of Warren, as the wife of Roger Earl of Norfolk, and mother of his issue, not one of them quote any authority for the assertion. Nor have I been able as yet to find the

¹ "Discoverie," MS. notes to *Norfolk*.

slightest allusion to her in any of the rolls or charters of the period. Dugdale in his *Baronage* does not mention any wife of this Earl Roger, and Watson in his *History of the Earls of Warren*; though he says that Isabella, third daughter of Hameline, married Roger Bigot Earl of Norfolk, does not tell us where he acquired his information, or give us the slightest clue to her identification. It must be obvious to the least archæological of my hearers that this point is of more than ordinary importance, as unless it is satisfactorily proved that Isabella de Warren was really the mother of the second Hugh Bigot Earl of Norfolk, the presumption is that he was the son of this Ida, of whose family we are in total ignorance. It is just possible that the daughter of Hameline may have been also called Ida. There are many instances of ladies of rank in those days having more than one name; but until this is ascertained, we must still consider Earl Roger to have been twice married, and remain in doubt as to which wife was the mother of his heir, and the rest of his issue, viz., three sons, Thomas, William, and Corbaldus, and three daughters, Margaret, Alice, and Mary. The name of Thomas Bigot appears as a witness to several charters, but I do not find that he married or had issue. Of William his brother it is stated that he married Margaret, daughter to Robert de Sutton. This is remarkable, because a lady of the same name and family is stated by Robert du Mont to have been the wife of this William's grandfather, and as Roger du Mont was dead before this latter match could well have taken place, he could not have made this mistake, if it be one, and we must suppose that there were two Margarets, each the daughter of a Robert de Sutton, one of whom, in the twelfth century, married Hugh Bigot, and the other, in the thirteenth, William, son of his son Roger. But it is not satisfactory to suppose such things, and we have here another question to examine and decide. Corbaldus, a third son, appears in Vincent's pedigree, in B. 2, Coll. Arms, upon the authority of a charter.

Of the daughters we can speak with very little more certainty. Margaret married, first, William de Camville; and secondly, William de Hastings, the king's steward. Mary was the wife of Randolph Fitz Ralph, lord of Middleham; but of Alice or Adelia, stated to have married Alberic de

Vere, Earl of Oxford, I can find no trace. I have latterly had occasion to go deeply into the pedigree of the De Veres, and in two charters this Alberic declares his wife to be Isabella, daughter of Walter de Bolebee. As there was no issue from any marriage he may have made, the matter is not of so much importance, and the whole affair is much too involved for discussion at the present moment; for, alas! we are by no means at the end of our difficulties.

Hugh Bigod, son of Earl Roger, had livery of his father's estates in the 2nd of Henry III (1218). Of this fact we have the legal evidence. But, oh, those dreadful dates! How the scores of antiquaries who have swallowed them whole, without fear, have escaped dying of indigestion, is perfectly miraculous. This Earl Roger might fairly be considered the son of the Earl Hugh who died in 1177; but if he were his younger brother, and son of a former Hugh, supposed to have died about 1136, he must have survived his father eighty-two years! Another possibility, but certainly not a probability. Again, the second or third Earl Hugh married Matilda or Maud, daughter of William, and eldest sister and co-heir of Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and had issue by her—Roger, son and heir; Hugh, John, Ralph, and, it is presumed, a fifth son named Simon, the progenitor of the Bigods of Felbridge. This Earl Hugh undoubtedly died in 1225;¹ and his widow, Maud, remarried with William Earl of Warren, son of Hameline Plantagenet, Earl of Warren; and therefore the uncle of her first husband, if there be any truth in the foregoing assertion respecting Isabella de Warren. The marriage of Hugh Bigot and Maud Marshall is, however, clear enough; and in the same year that the earl died, viz. 9th of Henry III (1225), his son and heir, Roger, married Isabella, sister of Alexander king of Scotland. Matthew Paris says in 1253; but there is an entry in the Fine Roll of the 9th of Henry III, which is decisive of the date; for leave is given to the Archbishop of York to postpone his appearance in a suit, in order that

¹ "Terra Hugonis Comitis le Bigot qui mortuus est captæ in manum R. Matildis uxor ejus habet dotam." (Rot. Fin., 18 Feb., a'o 9 Henry III, m. 6, pt. 1.) His son and heir, Roger, appears to have been at that time the ward of William Earl of Salisbury, the king's half-brother. "Iste Rogerus fuit in custodiæ W. Co. Sarum." (Pat. Roll, 10 H. III, m. 9.) A.D. 1225, "Hugo Bigod, Co. Orientalium Anglorum, humanæ naturæ debitum solvit." (Mat. Paris, p. 313, 10.)

he may be at Alnwick on the first of the octave of Holy Trinity in that year, to celebrate the marriage of Roger, son of Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, with Isabella sister of the king of Scots. We have, therefore, not only the year, but the very day and place of the marriage officially recorded.

This royal alliance was unfortunately unproductive. The earl at one period separated himself, "by evil counsel," from his wife, on a point of conscience, considering that they were too nearly related in blood; but, however, received her again, by ecclesiastical sentence, about the 37th of Henry III (1253), and died 54 Henry III (1270), and was buried at Thetford. Hugh, his next brother, who was Chief Justice of England, died during the lifetime of Roger. By some writers he is said to have been killed at the battle of Lewes; others, amongst whom Dugdale in his *Baronage*, say he disgracefully fled from it: at all events it is clear that he was not slain at Lewes, for his wife, Johanna, daughter of Nicholas de Stutteville, and relict of Hugh Wake, was allowed money for her maintenance during the absence of her husband, who "had fled beyond sea"; and after the battle of Evesham, which reestablished the royal authority, Hugh Bigot returned to England, and was made Constable of Pickering Castle, 49th of Henry III (1265). The exact date of his death is unknown; but he was certainly dead before 1270, as on the decease, without issue, of his brother, Earl Roger, in that year, from a hurt he had received in a tournament, the dignity devolved upon Hugh's eldest son, Roger, who then, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, did homage and had livery of the lands of his uncle. Fine Roll of 54th Henry III (1270): "R. cepit homagium Rog' le Bygot, nepotis et heredis Rog' le Bygot q'ndam Comit'is Norff. de omnibus t'ris et ten' q'm p'd'c'us Rogero avunc'l's suus tenuit de R. in capite die quo obiit t' ei t'ras illas t' ten' reddidit," etc., dated 25 of July. And yet, in the face of this document, we find a Patent Roll of the 42nd of Henry III (A.D. 1258), setting forth that "Hugo le Bigot, Comes Norff. & Suff. h'et custodia maritime Norff. et Suff. quamdiu s't, 4 Augusti." Well might Vincent ask, in a manuscript note, "Qy., what Hugo this was?" (*Discoverie*, Coll. Arms); the last Hugh Bigot, Earl of East Anglia, father of Roger, having died in 1225! But to proceed.

Roger Bigot, third earl of that Christian name, married,

first, Alicia, daughter and heir of Philip Basset; and secondly, Alice, daughter of John d'Avesnes, Earl of Bayonne; but had no issue by either. For some reason which has not been clearly made out, in the 30th of Edward I, he formally surrendered all his titles and possessions to the king, to the entire exclusion of his younger brother John, his right heir; with a proviso that they were to be restored to him again should a child be born to him. Dying, however, five years afterwards without such an occurrence, King Edward availed himself of the earl's gift; and thus the coronet of East Anglia and the rod of the marshal of England passed for ever from the great family of Bigot to the still greater of Plantagenet. Beyond this point, however, it is not my intention at present to follow them. There is quite enough even in this direct line of the Bigots, to be examined and corrected for one paper.

We have to exculpate the venerable Earl Hugh the first, from the charge of having left three widows to deplore his loss, and account for his having died originally about 1136 and subsequently in 1177. We have to identify two Margarets, each the daughter of a Robert de Sutton; or accuse William Bigot of breaking the law which declares that a man shall not marry his grandmother. We have to decide whether the first Earl Roger was twice married, or whether the earls who succeeded him were the issue of Isabella de Warren, the wife he does *not* mention, or of Ida the wife he acknowledges; and if of the latter, who was she? And lastly, we have to discover the Hugh le Bigot, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had the charge of the sea-coast of those localities in 1258; apparently during the lifetime of the second Earl Roger, who succeeded in 1225, and did not die before 1269, unless he was guilty of the same duplicity as his great-grandfather, and died twice on purpose to puzzle us.

It would be absurd to suppose that even the most practised genealogist could follow the arguments, compare the dates, and consider the points, I have indicated during my reading of them; and to the uninitiated in such mazy, and, I may say, hazy matters, such an essay as mine can only appear an uninteresting mass of confusion. My apology for inflicting it upon you is, however, based upon the fact, that to call the attention of general as well as local antiquaries

to these stereotyped errors and contradictions, and prevent, as far as possible, the repetition of them, is a duty, the importance of which must be held as an atonement for its dryness. It is high time that something like a critical examination should take place of these Anglo-Norman pedigrees, which have been so complacently copied for centuries without the slightest hesitation. By their correction and illustration a flood of light will be poured upon the early annals of England as well as on family history. Reasons will be found in the ties of kindred, in connexion by marriage, for the recorded actions of the powerful nobles and gallant knights who flourished and fought in those still to us "dark ages," which now appear strange and unaccountable. The authors of our Baronages, and their commentators, have limited their researches to the descent of the baronies, and taken little or no trouble to ascertain the parentage of the wives, or verify the collateral lines of the pedigrees. This task has been left to the writers of family histories, who have in too many instances followed implicitly in the footsteps of others, repeating their errors, and occasionally increasing the number. The earnest and valuable labours of the late Mr. Stapleton, too soon removed from amongst us, have only opened our eyes to the enormous quantity of work before those who are willing and able to pursue these investigations in the spirit with which he commenced them. It is in that spirit, though with far less ability and less time at my disposal, that I have made the observations I have this day had the honour to lay before you. It is in that spirit that I shall endeavour, as speedily as circumstances will permit, to arrive at some solution of the many perplexities they have elicited; for you must kindly remember that for these congresses, the notice we receive is barely sufficient for official or professional persons to select the subject of most local interest with which they may fancy themselves competent to deal, and rarely for the elucidation of unexpected difficulties which may arise on its preliminary consideration. I have really been surprised by the number I have encountered in a pedigree so often published as that of Bigot, and can therefore only upon this, as upon other similar occasions, request you to give me credit for—not my deserts—but what, with the blessing of Providence, I will deserve.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 56.)

THE abbot now took measures to silence those who reported injuriously of the preservation of the body. He came to it after "lauds," where it stood, and with chosen assistants took off the coverings of the coffin,—first, an outer cloth of linen tied on the top with strings, next a silken cloth, and then two others of linen; whereupon the coffin was exposed standing on a little wooden tray to keep it off the stone base. Upon the coffin-lid over the martyr's breast, was fixed a golden image of St. Michael, about a foot in length. Over the head of the golden image was inscribed:—"Martiris ecce zoma servat Michaelis agalma," and at the foot of the figure was a hole in the lid used by the ancient keepers to insert their hands to touch the body. Iron rings were at the ends of the coffin. Their observation of this part being completed, the coffin was lifted on to the high altar, placed under the shrine, and so left till the expiration of a three days' fast the abbot had proclaimed to the people. The convent expected that he would expose the body of the saint to universal gaze; but instead, he selected the night of the fourth day, and associating with himself his two chaplains, the two keepers of the shrine, two keepers of the vestry, Hugh the sacrist, Walter the physician, and four monks; when all the rest of the convent were supposed to be asleep, he removed the coffin out of the shrine on to a table near its first place, and proceeded to take off the lid. It was fixed down with sixteen very long iron nails, and when removed, all except the abbot, the sacrist, and the physician, retired from the immediate vicinity of the coffin. Jocelin was not of the number present, and therefore depends for what he recounts on the recital of others. The body in its swathings filled the coffin very closely. Under the head was a small pillow. The abbot found an outer veil of silk covering the whole of the body, then a linen cloth of wondrous whiteness, and on the head a small linen cloth, then a small fine silk cloth like the veil of a nun, and lastly,

under a linen cloth, came the lineaments of the sacred body. This last covering they removed from the face only, which amidst devotional ejaculations the abbot touched. The nose was very prominent, the head united to the body, one arm he raised and placed the fingers between his, examined the feet and counted the toes. Six other brethren, who had crept in unawares, were called forward, and with the chosen witnesses now all came up to the coffin; one other monk had climbed on to the roof, and, looking through one of the clerestory windows of the presbytery, saw all these things. All the cloths and wraps were then restored, and the lid fastened down as at the beginning. A silken pocket was also nailed on to the lid containing certain invocations of Ailwin the monk, found at the feet of the golden angel, to which was now added a record of what had just been done, attested by the signatures of eighteen monks. The stone base was then capped with a linen cloth doubled, the tray placed upon it, and then the coffin wound up in linen on the tray, lastly, the shrine was restored to its proper place.

Six or seven years before this the money raised to redeem King Richard from captivity had stript the church of most of its gold and silver; but the judges of the king's exchequer were deterred from touching St. Edmund's shrine. Encouraged by the security its sanctity afforded, Abbot Sampson had still further enriched it with a crest of gold and silver; at a later period, too, we read in Jocelin of his sequestering two hundred marks, found in the unlawful possession of a delinquent monk, and applying them to build a front to the shrine.

In Lydgate's beautiful illuminations of the 15th century, there are at least a dozen representations of the shrine, drawn, apparently, more from his familiar knowledge of it as an inmate of the monastery than from fact; for though they have a family likeness, all vary. They represent a stone base like an altar tomb, and upon it the shrine, a chest with gabled top, pinnacles at the sides, and panels enriched with gold and jewels.

William of Worcester, in 1479, states that the shrine stood over the chapel of St. Mary in Criptis.

Leland, in A.D. 1533, recounting the witnesses to the incorruptibility of the body, names Abbot Sampson as the

latest. Of the disposal of it or its shrine at the dissolution in 1539, we are told by the commissioners who visited the place a little before, "Pleasith it your lordship to be advertised that wee have ben at Saynt Edmunds Bury, where wee founde a riche shryne whiche was very cumberous to deface."¹

The three altars and chapels repeatedly spoken of as at the feet of St. Edmund, viz.—St. Saba, St. Mary, and St. Cross, have been already identified with the little apsidal chapels. Another altar, in the immediate vicinity of St. Edmund's shrine and also called a shrine, was that of Saints Botolph, Thomas and Firmin, called also the altar of the Martyrs.² In incensing at the high altar, the abbot was to turn and incense this with the shrine of St. Edmund and the casket of reliques upon the beam.³ The reliques of the two earlier saints had been translated from the first church of St. Edmund by Abbot Baldwin, and a shrine made by him for them, covered with silver plates. A little before Abbot Sampson's renovation of St. Edmund's shrine, these relics had been moved to the place⁴ indicated, where they were about the time of Edward III. A third shrine⁵ mentioned is that of Abbot Baldwin, called also his tomb. It was in the midst of the choir.⁶ Further west stood an altar called the choir altar, and then on each side of the church were ranged the stalls for the eighty monks with the abbot's throne⁷ at the western extremity on the south side, and the prior's seat opposite to it on the north.

These arrangements are in great part deducible from an order for incensing in the *Liber Albus*.⁸ When the abbot was to sing mass, he went from the chapter house to the vestry attended by the vestiarius, the prior, sub-prior, his chaplain, and two boys bearing tapers. He was robed in the vestry by the prior, and then entering the choir himself, the prior was to wait in the vestry or before the altar of St. Saba, till the abbot began the antiphon of the gospel, then the prior would enter with incense on his own side, i.e., the north, the sub-prior standing on the abbot's side, i.e., the south. The abbot then taking a thurible from the sub-prior, would incense the great altar, the shrines of St. Edmund

¹ Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E. 4, f. 229b.

² Regist. Pinchbeck, f. 174. "Libacionis cere."

³ Lib. Alb., f. 99b.

⁴ Ibid., f. 114, "Hist. of Sacrista." ⁵ Ibid., f. 99b.

⁶ Battely.

⁷ Jocelin de Brakelond.

⁸ Lib. Alb., f. 99b.

and St. Botolph, and reliques before spoken of, which done the two inferior officers would precede the abbot along the choir to the shrine of Baldwin and to the altar in the choir. The abbot then went in front, whilst the prior on his side, and sub-prior on the abbot's, incensed the chaunters to the extreme end, i.e., at the west. Here was the noble throne of the abbot erected late in Sampson's time, and resplendent with painting by the hand of Symon. Hugo, then sacrist, also caused a pulpit to be erected in the nave, from which Sampson preached to the people "in English as well as in the Norfolk dialect." It must have been as a division of the choir stalls from the western part of the nave, that he also erected "the great cross" (rood beam and cross) "with images of St. Mary and St. John."¹ A similar beam and images we have seen was between the high altar and St. Edmund's shrine, and this beam was erected in Abbot Ording's time, under Helyas² the sacrist, and carved by one Hugo. The fact of this one having been under the process of fresh carving when the fire happened at the shrine might (as the position of the other beam is not stated) lead to the supposition that it was the re-carving of this which is mentioned as the making of a cross and images in the second instance; but the order for the delivery of wax, before quoted, shews that there were two crosses, each of which had a separate allotment of tapers and indicates the connection in which each stood. "Item, in choro et ad magnam crucem, xii cer. de xii lib. Item, ad Sēm Sabam ad Martyres et ad crucem, iii cēos de iii libr."

A silver table for the high altar worth one hundred marks was made in Abbot Anselm's time, and esteemed a great ornament,³ but was given to the king's exchequer in aid of the ransom of King Richard.⁴ The high altar in Sampson's time was reconstructed and made solid, to prevent the accumulation of rubbish and refuse under it, and the whole floor between it and the shrine made solid with cement after the fire.

Of the arrangement of the crypt beneath the shrine of St. Edmund, we learn from William of Worcester, that it was fifty paces long and forty broad; so that it extended

¹ *Liber Albus*, f. 114, "Hist. of Sacrists." The quotation is from Jocelin de Brakelond.

² *Ibid.*
1865

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Jocelin de Brakelond.

the whole width of the presbytery and three bays westward of the apse; its vaulting was supported by twenty-four columns, and within it was a most beautiful fountain. As he states them, the dimensions of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary should fill the whole, and be the only chapel in the crypt or crypts, as it is indifferently called. So in the account of the dedication of the altars in the *Liber Albus*,¹ and again in the same book, in the order² for the supply of tapers, the altar of St. Mary alone is mentioned in the crypts; but the will of William Hawes of Bury bequeathed, in 1497, "to the chapell of Seynt Anne in the undercroftys in the abbey, 5*d*."

Prior to closing the account of the abbey church, a fact which should have been stated before has to be supplied in reference to the history of its great central tower. Leland³ tells us that John Lavenham, the sacrist, erected within the space of twenty-six years a new campanile over the choir, at a cost of £866:13:4, and a great bell at a cost of £33:6:8, but gives no date for these events. At p. 50 we noticed the fall of one of the abbey towers in 1210. In the *Liber Consuetudinarius*⁴ are several notices of preparations made "pro relevatione ecclesiæ," which appear to be transactions of the thirteenth century. Unless Leland's information refers to these restorations, we are without information as to the nature of the works for which great funds were then set apart.

The group of churches which filled the cemetery is, perhaps, more remarkable from their size and number than any similar instance that could be found in this country. At Evesham, in Worcestershire, the abbey church has been swept away; but in its churchyard there yet remain the two magnificent parish churches of All Saints and St. Lawrence, originally chapels of the monastery. In the eastern counties, several instances of more humble, associated churches occur, the most curious being that of Reopham, near Norwich. The churchyard belongs to three parishes: Reopham, Whitwell, and Hackford; an understood line, without any actual fence, divides off the several portions. Hackford Church was destroyed by fire in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and only a small part of it now exists. Reopham and Whitwell Churches are so close together (less than a foot apart) as to appear in actual contact.

¹ Liber Albus, f. 213b. ² Ibid., f. 69. ³ Leland, *Itin.*, iv, Appendix, f. 27.

⁴ Liber Consuetudinarius, ff. 53, 78, 79.

South Walsham, near Blofield, Norfolk, has two churches in one cemetery, the western tower of one being close to the north side of the chancel of the other. Antingham, in Norfolk, has two churches in close proximity in one churchyard. Trimley, in Suffolk, the same; also Swaffham Prior, in Cambridgeshire. Fulbourn, in the same county, had two till one of them fell to ruin in 1766, which has since been totally removed. Histon, in Cambridgeshire, is scarcely a parallel instance, as its two churches were a furlong apart, and similar to this are the two churches of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors, in Wiltshire, in separate churchyards about a furlong apart, the latter being a chapel of the parish of Overton, a detached portion of which, called Alton Priors, lies close to the parish church of Alton Barnes.

The groups of churches in Ireland, miscalled "Seven Churches," derive their origin from motives similar to those which produced the English groups. The modern application, in Ireland, of the name "Seven Churches," has elsewhere been pointed out by the writer of this.¹

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.—That this was the dedication of the first church of Beodricsworth erected by Sigbert about A.D. 607, is accepted by Battely and other modern historians.² They are probably correct, though one authority, at least, when closely examined, turns out to be merely an ancient guess. "Arbitror etiam quod parochia villæ a tempore antiquo in memoria Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis fuit constructa, videl., ab initio primæ Christianitatis istius provinciæ, et a tempore primi predicatoris felicitis memoriæ et Sanctissimi Episcopi Felicitis Orientalium Anglorum." This passage, in an ancient hand, is a rough marginal³ note in the register of the sacrist, and is subsequent to the compilation supposed to be of the time of Edward II. In a later register⁴ compiled between the time of Henry IV and Henry VI, the same words are introduced in the body of the work, probably transferred from the margin of the other book. The opinion seems to have been originally expressed in the *Liber Albus*, in the history of the dedication of the chapels.⁵ The first positive information of the church of St. Mary is

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, 1864, vol. i, p. 547.

² S. Tymms, *St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds*, 1848, gives the latest and fullest account of this church.

³ *Regist. Sacristiæ*, f. 23 b.

⁴ *Regist. Rubeum*, f. 164.

⁵ *Lib. Albus*, f. 213 b.

that given at p. 45 in this paper, according to which about 1107 the old stone church of St. Mary was taken down for extending the transept of the abbey church to the south, and the great sacrist, Godfrey, then built¹ a new St. Mary's Church at the south-west angle of the cemetery. If ever finished by him it was very soon rebuilt; for the next sacrist, Radulph Harvey, has attributed to him the erection of St. Mary's Church with its tower and belfry containing bells of a fine sound,² and this work was consecrated under Abbot Anselm by John, Bishop of Rochester.³ The next alteration of the building is that pointed out by Mr. Tymms,⁴ when certain bequests provide for some work to the belfry of the church between the years 1395 and 1403. It is highly probable, as he suggests, that this work was the erection of the present tower. Soon after, the rebuilding of the whole church was in progress, as is related in the Register Curteys;⁵ for they were the parishioners of this church who, on account of the rebuilding of their own, were assembled in the nave of the abbey church just before the fall of the campanile there in 1430. Mr. Tymms finds in the wills in the registrar's office at Bury, the earliest bequests towards the rebuilding of St. Mary's Church in 1425. Bequests for the fabric continue till 1433, afterwards they are made for its maintenance. The battlements he finds in progress in 1442 and 1444. This is the church which, with some later extensions, has been well preserved to our own day.

It consists of a nave 140 feet long, with ten arches on each side opening to the aisles, which give a width inside of 68 feet. The chancel before the later additions was about 55 feet long; but before 1463 an aisle had been built on its north side, as appears by the will of John Barret, who then directed that if a similar aisle should be erected on the south side it should be connected with the nave aisle by merely opening the east window of the aisle down to the ground, as he wished to preserve intact the carvings and figures erected by him about that window and the altar under it. This injunction, we see, was not regarded; but an arch was inserted in the usual manner, when subsequently the aisle was built. The will of John (*alias* Jankyn) Smith in 1480 bequeaths certain rents for the maintenance of the

¹ Lib. Albus, f. 213b.² Ibid., f. 114.³ Ibid., f. 213b.⁴ S. Tymms, St. Mary's Church, p. 11.⁵ Reg. Curteys, f. 87b.

new aisles that he had built, which must mean these chancel aisles. At the same time, or a little after, about 18 feet was added to the length of the chancel, and because the ground falls here rapidly to the east it was necessary to raise the floor of this addition upon a vault forming a sort of crypt, the entrance to which was from a vestry, now destroyed, but then attached to the south side of this extension of the chancel. The position of the tower partly encroaching on the north aisle of the church is remarkable, and indicates that it was, as before said, commenced before the church, and probably for a different plan. The north door of the church has a rich porch with a remarkable piece of vault construction in stone, so contrived as to present a nearly flat surface or ceiling. An inscription upon it: "*Orate pro animabus Johannis Notingham et Isabelle uxoris suæ*", indicates that it was erected by direction of those personages. The will of John Notingham, grocer, dated 1437, provided £20 for the construction of a west and a south porch. How the west came to be omitted and the north constructed is not explained. The south porch was pulled down in 1731. The whole building constitutes a fine example of the latest period of English mediæval architecture, valuable as a study, from its well-ascertained dates, and noble, from its large size and sumptuous construction. The roof of the nave has few rivals in richness and beauty. It is of oak, of the kind called a hammer beam roof. The twenty-one pairs of hammer beams carry on the ends as many pairs of angels, large figures holding instruments of music and sacred implements; at the feet of the beams are pairs of figures, angels and archangels, apostles, prophets, saints and martyrs. William of Worcester tells us that the church was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, of which it would appear this splendid array of heavenly ministers was intended to remind us.

The two most remarkable interments in this church are those of Mary Tudor, Queen of France, Duchess of Brandon; and Reeve, the last abbot of St. Edmunds. Mary Tudor was interred in the abbey church in 1533, and at the dissolution in 1539 removed into St. Mary's. Her tomb was opened in 1731, 1758, 1769, and 1784, at which last date it was sunk below the pavement in the north-east corner of the chancel. Abbot Reeve died the year after the destruc-

tion of his monastery. His monument in St. Mary's Church was destroyed a little before 1746.

ST. EDMUND'S FIRST CHURCH, SUBSEQUENTLY A CHAPEL.— This, as related fully at page 37, was originally a church of planked wood, built and dedicated in 903 for the reception of the martyred king. In 1021, on the introduction of monks, a new church was built, and consecrated in 1032, at the instance of Ailwin, Bishop of Hulme, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edmund, or rather, as another account shows, it was the old church repaired and restored in stone. It stood to the north of the spot where Abbot Baldwin erected the presbytery of his church (see fig. 2, plate 2), as appears in the account of the dedication of the presbytery in 1095; and besides its principal altar it had an altar of St. Peter, erected by Abbot Leofstan. Of its existence about this period, and of its position, another notice occurs in a story¹ concerning Radulph, then Bishop of Rochester, but in 1114 Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been confirming certain baptised persons at a spot in the cemetery of the brethren (i.e., the eastern part of the cemetery), near to the river, where subsequently St. Andrew's chapel stood, and where he was seen by three youths of the school, looking from the windows of the infirmary. Two doves flew around him, and then entered the church by a *posterulam*, which was towards St. Edmund's chapel ("versus capellam S^ci Edmundi"). The probability is, that Abbot Baldwin's abbey church, as completed by his successors, embodied into it as a chapel attached to its north transept, a part of the old church of Canute's time. This piece of antiquity was either taken down by Abbot Symon when (1257 to 1279) he erected the new lady chapel to the north of the presbytery,² or was then known to have been previously destroyed. Leland (1533) found it described as a round chapel. Abbot Baldwin, he tells us,³ translated the body of St. Edmund, "a capella rotunda," into his new basilica. Weever says:⁴ "whiles they laid the foundation of a new chappell in the raigne of Edward the first, there were found, as Eversden a monk of this place writeth, the walles of a certaine old church, built round so as that the altar stood

¹ Liber Albus, f. 213b, and Regist. Pinchbeck, f. 176.

² Ibid., f. 213b.

³ Leland, *Collectanea*, f. 247, vol. i.

⁴ Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 722.

as it were in the midst, and we verily think, saith he, it was that which was built to Saint Service." The beginning of the reign of Edward I synchronises with the last seven years of Abbot Symon's rule, and the form attributed to the foundation agrees with Leland's story, so that it can hardly be doubted that both accounts of the round building relate to the chapel of St. Edmund which preceded Symon's lady chapel. We learn further,¹ that Abbot Symon having given up the chapel of St. Stephen to the prior, and the chapel where first St. Edmund rested having been destroyed, built a new chapel for the prior, in honour of St. Stephen and St. Edmund the martyrs, which was dedicated by William de Voges, Archbishop of Medorum. In the order for the delivery of tapers in the *Liber Albus* it is called "Capella Prioris in Cimiterio, videlicet Capella S^ci Stephani."² Mr. Tymms says, referring to a charter of one Gilbert in the *Registrum Nigrum*, that the chapel of St. Edmund stood in the great cemetery, i.e., the western part. In the time of Abbot Curteys (1433 to 1446) the chapel of St. Stephen was repeatedly used by various bishops for consecrating priests and other orders of the clergy by license of the abbot.³ The persons ordained were chiefly monks of St. Edmund, and the officiating bishop was usually one Robert, Bishop of Emly, in Ireland, a Franciscan friar, who for some cause, was for many years excluded from his own see, and died at St. Edmund's Bury in 1441, as his will in the registry there testifies by the probate.⁴ Of the further history of this chapel nothing has reached us, nor is its position in the great cemetery precisely determined (see fig. 4, plate 2).

THE CHURCH OF ST. DENIS AND CHURCH OF ST. JAMES.—Abbot Baldwin, who had been a monk of St. Denis at Paris, erected the basilica of St. Denis about 1065, for a parish church of the town, and for the clerics or canons superseded forty-five years before, of whom the arch cleric was Peter Damian.⁵ Abbot Anselm (1120 to 1148) took down this building to extend the western part of the great monastic church. Almost on the spot was placed the porticus of St. Denis, and in lieu he erected the church which he dedicated to St. James. Anselm had intended making a pilgrimage

¹ Lib. Alb., f. 213b.² Ibid., f. 69.³ Regist. Curteys, ff. 73, 87.⁴ Tymms's Wills.⁵ Lib. Albus, f. 213b.

to St. James of Compostella, but was diverted from it by the advice of his monks, and was thus persuaded to erect this church, which was consecrated by William Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury, before his death in 1138. The first church was at fig. 3, plate 2. The second was where its successor stands at the present day, and gave the name of St. James's Tower to the noble Norman tower still standing at fig. 11. This tower was built under the same Abbot Anselm by Radulph Harvey the sacrist, and is called¹ in the history of the sacrists "*Turris Sancti Jacobi*." It formed the entrance to the great cemetery, and stands due west of the principal west door of the abbey church.

From Anselm's time to 1390, nothing occurs respecting the church. A new chancel was in course of erection from 1390 to 1404, and a new nave in 1436. The latter was not completed till the reign of Edward VI. This inscription appears in ancient letters over the inside of the west door: "Y^e most noble sovreign Lorde Edward the VI, by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the Faith, and on erth of the Church of England, and also of Irland, the Sovreign Hed of his godly devocion, gave to the building of this church *ccli.*, and also *xxli.* for the mayntenance of a fre gramere schole within this towne, at the humble sute of John Eyer and Poley Penson, Esquiers." On the principal of the roof at the west end of the north aisle is the date "1684, John Hubbard and Samuel Battley, Churchwardens."

The nave of the church is one hundred and thirty-five feet four inches long inside, and, with the aisle on each side, is seventy feet wide. The nave arcades are of nine bays. The chancel is fifty-nine feet long, and the aisles of the nave are extended—one bay eastward, so as to include on each side the first side window of the chancel; these two side windows have been cleared out down to the ground, to form arches opening to the aisles.

In point of antiquarian interest, this church is very inferior to St. Mary's. The chancel retains some marks of workmanship as old as the beginning of the fourteenth century, but was rebuilt in 1711 in the worst taste, and again reconstructed within the present century, certainly in a much improved manner, but still with great incongruity. It is at the present time closed for the purpose of further

¹ Liber Albus, f. 114 and f. 213b. Digitized by Google

improvement. The nave roof until lately was a wretched imitation of vaulting executed in plaster. At the visit of the British Archæological Association, this had been cleared away, and the new oak roof was then fully exposed to view. It is a really handsome and becoming work; but the inspection of it just after studying the superb roof of St. Mary's made it difficult to do proper justice to its plainer aspect. Both the churches are profusely lighted with large "perpendicular" windows, and with a clerestory to the nave, having windows in pairs in every bay. In St. Mary's, the windows are much richer, and of better design and workmanship than at St. James's, whilst at St. James's, the mouldings of the nave columns and arches are much better and more effective than at St. Mary's. The entire western bay of St. James's differs in character from the others, and as it breaks forward outside the boundary wall of the monastery this bay had no side windows. The wall which abutted there has, however, been cleared away, and a window inserted in the south side recently.

The two churches of St. James and St. Mary usefully illustrate the difficulty which often arises in attempting to define the part of the "Perpendicular" era to which a "Perpendicular" work belongs. The most free from flat arches, and the most effective mouldings and best tracery, would naturally seem to be of the earliest part of the era. But here, putting the chancels out of consideration, we have St. Mary's church, finished early in the fifteenth century, with flat pointed arches in the windows united to rich and good tracery, and in conjunction with very poor mouldings to the principal arcades. At St. James's, one hundred years later in its completion, are found well pointed windows with poor tracery and extremely good arches and arch mouldings.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.—In laying the foundations of the great abbey church under Abbot Baldwin, a number of bones were necessarily disinterred. He caused them to be collected, and built a chapel of oak, dedicated to St. Stephen, to receive them.¹ This was before A.D. 1095. Under Abbot Anselm, the first chapel was taken down and a new one in stone constructed near it, which was dedicated, with the chapel or porticus of St. Denis, by Richard, Bishop of Avranches in Normandy.

¹ Lib. Albus, f. 213b.

When Abbot Symon de Luton (1257 to 1279) had occupied the site of the old St. Edmund's chapel with his new lady chapel, he gave the chapel of St. Stephen to the prior, probably to be pulled down; and in lieu of it erected another for the prior's use, which was consecrated to St. Stephen and¹ St. Edmund, as here before related in the account of St. Edmund's chapel. Its subsequent history has been given under that head. The site of the prior's house will be shown to be ascertained hereafter; to it, in all probability, was contiguous the chapel of St. Stephen, which was given to him. It may, therefore, be marked at fig. 9, plate 2.

ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL.—Its position is known from the story of Radulph, Bishop of Rochester, administering the rite of confirmation, as previously related in the account of St. Edmund's chapel. We are told that the bishop was standing where afterwards the church (*sic*) of St. Andrew stood. It is marked at fig. 5, plate 2. It was erected under Abbot Anselm by Radulph Harvey, the sacrist, (1120 to 1148), in lieu of a little stone chapel, near the hospice of the sacrist, formerly held in great veneration, the spreading of the water having made the place unfit. The new chapel was in the cemetery of the brethren, and dedicated by John, Bishop of Rochester. It was decorated with painting, and in it was daily celebrated a service in commemoration of those buried in the cemetery.² In the time of Abbot Sampson, about A.D. 1200, the history of the sacrists³ tells us that Hugh the sacrist for the most part built (it may be presumed restored or rebuilt) the chapel of St. Andrew. Jocelin de Brakelond, his contemporary, says that it was roofed with lead by Abbot Sampson. Yates's modern⁴ history, recording a visit to the monastery by Archbishop Thomas Arundel in A.D. 1400, relates that he passed through the great cemetery into the chapel of St. Andrew, went thence into the vineyard, and returned to the infirmary; a notice which confirms the position assigned to this chapel on plate 2.

CHURCH OR CHAPEL OF ST. MARGARET.—This stood, as at fig. 6, plate 2, near to the gate of the cemetery, called St. Margaret's Gate. Under Abbot Baldwin (1065-97), Albold, a priest, built "a not insignificant tower adjoining the Chapel

¹ Lib. Albus, f. 213b.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., f. 114.

⁴ Yates, p. 112.

of St. Margaret"; in which afterwards was shut Langliva, a virgin devoted to God, who was also buried there.¹ The chapel fell to decay; and under Anselm (1120-48) the church of St. Margaret was rebuilt in a beautiful manner at the south gate of the cemetery, and consecrated by John, Bishop of Rochester.² Of its subsequent history nothing occurs. Mr. Tymms finds only one mention of its existence in the *Bury Wills*. In 1512, John Sygo gave the sum of 40s. "to the reparation of the Chapell of Seynt Margarete of Bury." Mr. Tymms and some others speak of its large and beautiful windows seen by Leland. The bad indices of Leland's *Itinerary* and *Collectanea* make it very difficult to discover the passage in Leland alluded to; and, after a pretty careful search, it seems probable that too much is assumed in attributing to this chapel such an account of its windows. Is there any other passage to be found relating to it except the following? "Diceret plane cœnobium esse civitas; tot portæ partim etiam ærææ, tot turres et templum quo nulum magnificentius, cui et alia tria egregis opere nitentia, uno et eodem cœmiterio sita subserviunt."³ Even this passage is not discoverable from the indices. It occurs in the commentary or glossary to the *Cygneam Cantionem*, a tale relating to the Thames, and not to Suffolk. At the word *curia* in the glossary, he tells us that its Saxon equivalent was *byri*, and quotes "Sainct Eadmundesbyri" as an example of the use of the term, adding a short but glowing description of the place. Here he does not mention St. Margaret's, or any of the churches by name; and, in fact, the passage conveys merely that three of the subordinate churches must have been of much greater distinction than the others which provoked no allusion from him.

CHAPEL OF THE CHARNEL.—At fig. 7, plate 2, is marked what remains of this building. The low walls which appear above ground have been so modernised and metamorphosed as almost to have effaced every ancient architectural feature. In 1637 it was a "common alehouse," afterwards a blacksmith's shop, and then, at the end of the last century, the private mausoleum of John Spink, Esq. It was founded in 1301 by Abbot John de Norwold,⁴ who was moved to com-

¹ Lib. Albus, f. 213b.² Ibid.³ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. ix, p. 50.⁴ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. iv, Appendix, 25; and *Registrum Album*, f. 76b; also *Liber Consuetudinarius*, f. 76.

passion at the sight of the bones continually exposed by fresh interments, and erected this building with a vaulted space or crypt beneath it, to receive them, appointing two chaplains to say masses in the chapel for the repose of the dead. To the chaplains belonged the privilege of bearing the abbot's pastoral staff in processions. The foundation deed, containing the particulars of the duties and endowments of the chaplains, is preserved at full length in the *Registrum Album*. One of the latest chaplains was Richard Clerk, presented in 1531 to the free Chapel of the Charnel in the cemetery; and in his presentation the privilege above referred to is mentioned.¹ In 1844 the crypt was partly dug into. The floor, of Barnack stone, was found covered two feet deep with bones.

St. Paul's Cathedral, Norwich Cathedral, St. Albans Abbey, and some others, had charnel chapels.

CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN AD MONTEM.—No part of it exists. The position, as pointed out by Mr. Tymms, at the highest part of the cemetery, is shewn at fig. 8, plate 2. Its origin is unknown. The earliest notice of it seems to be the collation of a chaplain, Richard de Culford, by the sacrist in 1334.² In 1429 Abbot Curteys presented to the Chapel of St. John ad Montem, in the great cemetery, for chaplain, James Webbe, and gave him leave to construct, at the west end of the chapel, one fair chamber with a chimney and necessary appurtenances, provided that it were done without injury to the ingress to the chapel.³ In 1439 the chapel was new roofed, of which a very interesting account is preserved.⁴ "John Edwards of Seynt Edmundsbury, mercer," agreed with "John Heywod, of Ditton in the shire of Cantebrigge, carpentyr," that before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, he "shal makyn a roof of the hert of ook only competent to the wallys of the Chapel of Seynt John atte Hille in Bury, the whiche roof shal be wrought of vj pryncypal couplys archebounden, wherof eche sparre shal bere the brede of x unches, & the thyknes of viij unches, havynge atwix eche two pryncypals a purloyn, a iope,⁵ and iiij sparrys,⁶ havynge a rof tre abovyn, suffisaunt of whiche

¹ Harl. MS. 308, f. 89.

² Regist. Curteys, f. 53.

³ Regist. Werketone, f. 147.

⁴ Ibid., f. 304.

⁵ *Iope*; sometimes *jopy* and *jopyll*. The meaning of the term is not precisely known.

⁶ *Sparrys*, rafters.

sparrys ich on shal be brede of vij unches, & thickenesse of iij unchys, & al the seid princepal couplys, purloynes, & iopes, shuln be convenably embowyd, the whiche rof shal be more hight from the leuel of the wallys upwards be a fote than the rof of an hous clepyd Tudenham's Chamber in the Abbey of Bury set, the whiche rof on this forme surly, clenly, and crafetly arought, the same John Heywod, on his owne coste, shall upreysyn & settyn on the wallys of the seid chapel, be the seid John Edwards in the mene while to be made redy, and able to receyve it, and al the same rof reysyd, the seyde John Heywod sufficiauntly shal latthen & dighten redy to be ledyd. Moreoʒr the same John Heywod shal do remove the dormant w^t all that is theron of a soler¹ within the seyde chapel now beenge makyng the same soler more large be vij fete than it is at this tyme, and gysten² and plauncheren bothe the nether soler and the over, and the nether soler he shall do selyn³ with estrich borde wrought w^t bergys & knottys honestly and wel karven, and to eyther dore of the same chapel he shal do maken a louke of estrich board competent, and to the ton dore⁴ there a porche of ij standardys archyd and bownden with a beme couplyd & latthid aby l to be ledyd before the feste of Seynt John before lymyted, and the forseyd John Edwards for the seid rof, soler, & porche, & other workys before rehersyd, grauntith & oblesshith hym for to pay unto the seyde John Heywod *xli. vjs. viijd.* of lawful mony Englysh."

Nothing of the subsequent history of the building has reached us.

Of the CEMETERY in which these various churches stood, the eastern part is known to have been distinguished as the Cemetery of the Brethren, as in the story before referred to, and found in the *Liber Albus* and *Pinchbeck Register*. The Bishop of Rochester was exercising the rite of confirmation at the spot where afterwards St. Andrew's Chapel stood in the "Cemeterium Fratrum." The western part is often called the "Cemeterium Magnum." The entire Cemetery, which contained the Abbey Church and seven subordinate churches or chapels, occupies about twelve acres. Lofty

¹ *Soler* or *solar*, an upper or superior chamber; as *cellar*, a sunk or lowest chamber.

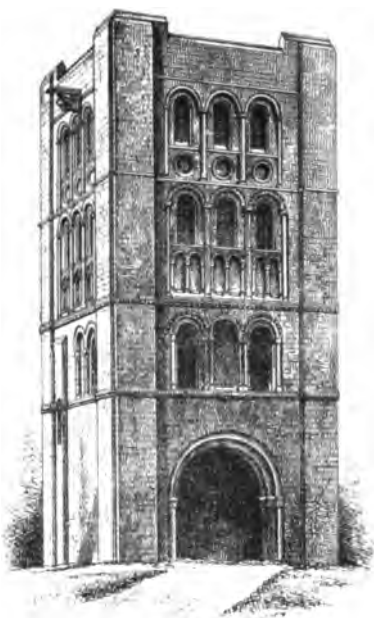
² *Gysten* and *plauncheren*, joists and plank.

³ *Selyn*, ceiling.

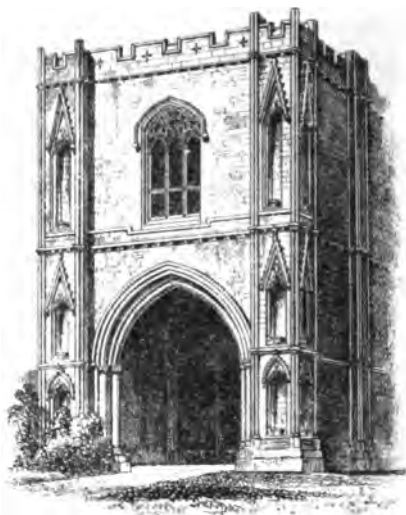
⁴ *Ton dore*, town door.

walls enclosed the south and west sides of the Cemetery, with a gate-tower on the south side (fig. 10, plate 2), near St. Margaret's Chapel; and another on the west (fig. 11, plate 2), directly opposite the centre of the west end of the church. These walls and gates were built by Radulph Harvey, the sacrist, in the time of Abbot Anselm (1120-48). The history of the sacrists¹ tells us that he built the walls around the atrium of the church, and also the tower of St. James. Of this work, the only part remaining is the magnificent tower of St. James, now commonly called the Norman Tower, at fig. 11, plate 2,—a monument of the artistic skill of its great architect, and of the sumptuous taste of his patron Anselm. It rises, in four stories, to the height of eighty-six feet. Through the ground story a large semi-circular arch in the front and back afforded entrance to the monastery, the outer one being provided with gates. The outer one is also much enriched with sculptured ornaments. Above the ground story the four faces of the tower are almost identical in design: each side presents a pair of windows in the second story, three in the next, and three in the topmost. A few years ago the tower had fallen into a state of deplorable decay and dilapidation. In several parts the walls were so rent as to permit views of the Cemetery to be had from the interior of the tower, through what should have been its solid parts. Considerable portions of the principal arches had fallen out; and though a large part of its defects had been concealed by a coat of cement outside, yet some of the most intelligent of the inhabitants took alarm at the state of things, caused the cement to be removed, and a thorough restoration to be effected. This was done in 1846-7. A great portion of the external facing was then restored; the walls were drawn up to the perpendicular, and secured by several powerful iron frames arranged in the inside of the tower; and the roof reconstructed. The work appears to have been done in a way which must secure the gratitude of all archæologists. Seldom, however, is a work so perfect as to be beyond all criticism; and in this case it is matter for a slight regret that a desire for neatness procured the effacing from the sides of the tower, of the abutments of the walls through which it was the entrance, giving to it an isolation which it did not originally possess. On

¹ Liber Albus, f. 114



ST. JAMES'S TOWER.
A.D. 1120 - 1148.



ABBAY GATE.
A.D. 1327 1397.



ABBOT'S BRIDGE.
Circa A.D. 1225.

the other hand, some will be glad to know that, however well matched to the old, the new work upon the face of the tower is everywhere distinguishable from it upon a close examination; the old stone being wrought with an axe or chisel with a plain edge, and the modern with what is called a "clawed tool." (See view, plate 5.)

Through this gateway it was that, on state occasions, august visitors were led into the monastery, as occurred when Henry VI visited it in 1433, as related in the *Register Curteys*.¹ Anciently, as at present, it was furnished with bells; and one of them was used as a fire-bell, as we learn from the account of the riots of 1326-7, when the rioters violently rang "*campana ignis in Turri S ci Jacobi*."²

Besides this western gate there was also a southern one, called St. Margaret's Gate. Before 1097 "a not insignificant tower" was built here (fig. 10, plate 2) by Albold the priest, adjoining the Chapel of St. Margaret.³ It was taken down under Abbot Anselm, when the chapel was rebuilt; and the new chapel is said to have been at the south gate of the cemetery.⁴ This south gate must have been the work of Radulph Harvey; erected at the time that he rebuilt the walls around the Abbey, and constructed St. James's Tower. In the *Register of the Sacristy*⁵ we read of a certain house before the "gate of St. Margarete." A portion of the gate remained so late as the year 1760, when the remnant was taken down. A drawing of the fragment had been previously made by Thomas Martin, the antiquary of Palgrave, and was engraved for the additions to Yates's history published in 1843. It represents a semicircular arched gateway in either the front or back wall of a tower, and on each side of it a niche of Norman character with mouldings ornamented with the *chevron*; the style of the work agreeing with the  era of Radulph Harvey.

A little to the east of this gate were the schools, first placed there by Abbot Sampson. On a small scale, the school of the monastery was usually held in a part of the wing of the building extending from the transept of the church (fig. 21, plate 2). It was so here previously, as may be judged from the mention of the three boys of the school

¹ *Regist. Curteys*, f. 110.

^{*} *Lib. Alb.*, f. 213b.

² *Regist. Hostellarie*, f. 42.

^{*} *Ibid.*

⁵ *Regist. Sacristie*, f. 66.

who saw from a window of the Infirmary (*i.e.*, the adjoining building to the east) the Bishop of Rochester engaged in confirming the people at the site of St. Andrew's Chapel. Jocelin de Brakelond says that Abbot Sampson purchased stone houses in the town for the use of the schools. His account is confirmed by one of the Registers,¹ which also hands down to us some of the rules of the foundation. All the scholars, whether rich or poor, were to be free of payment from *conductione domus*; and forty poor clerks free of all payment to the master for their learning; in which number were first to be taken the relations of the monks; the rest to be filled up as the master should appoint.

The spot occupied by the schools came to have upon it the "Shire House" as early as 1578, when, as Mr. Tymms shews, a building so called was described as lately part of the possessions of the monastery of Bury, then to be used by the justices of the peace for sessions, assizes, and gaol delivery; and in 1579 another deed speaks of "the late grammer schole hall, nowe the Shirehouse," as quoted by Mr. Tymms. The Shirehall, as it is now called, was rebuilt in 1841-2, and possesses no marks of antiquity. It is just outside the south wall of the monastery, a considerable portion of which, from nearly opposite to it, and down to the river, yet remains.

The northern or domestic half of the site of the monastery was also entered by two gates,—one in the west side, about four hundred and forty feet north of St. James's Tower (fig. 12, plate 2); the other on the north side, in its eastern part (fig. 31, plate 2). The wall itself remains along the greater portion of these boundaries; but except at a part of the building marked fig. 27, plate 2, none of it is the work of Radulph Harvey, his having been almost completely renewed by subsequent builders. The gateway in the west side, above spoken of, was the entrance to the domestic parts of the Abbey, and remains a work of extreme beauty and interest. It has been so frequently illustrated and engraved, that it must be well known to every architectural student. It is one of the most perfect examples in existence, of the period when the mediæval architects had attained to their most refined and graceful mode of design. Its predecessor, probably the work of Radulph Harvey, was destroyed in

¹ Regist. Curteys, f. 119.

the riots of 1326-27. This one was erected immediately after, as is very certain from its style; and in all probability completed before 1337, as appears from some coats of arms upon the tower itself. It is likely to have been finished before 1346, because one of the shields bears the coat of Edward III, as he bore it, before he quartered with his own the fleur-de-lis of France in that year. We are led back yet ten years earlier by another shield, the coat of his brother, John of Eltham, who died in 1336. Again, it was after 1327, because a third shield has the arms of Henry Earl of Lancaster, who obtained that earldom in 1327 by grace of the king; the earldom having been extinguished in 1321, in his brother, who was beheaded for treason.¹ The gateway has on the outside a lofty arch; within that another, at about one third of the length of the tower; and in the inside face another. The two outer arches were each closed with folding gates, and one of them had a portcullis besides, in the front of the tower; and in the space between the two arches numerous loopholes are provided for the discharge of arrows. The entire of the passage-way was vaulted over, and the walls panelled with arches filled with flowing tracery. In these panels, three of which are on each side of the outer third or bay of the passage-way, are the three shields referred to above, with two others, viz., those of Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, interred in the monastery in 1338; and the reputed shield of Edward the Confessor. The sixth shield, which was between that of Edward III and John of Eltham, on the north side of the tower, is missing. Mr. Walford, with much pains, offers some conjectures as to what coat of arms it bore; believing it to have had the arms either of Edmund of Woodstock, brother of Thomas Brotherton and uncle of Edward III; of Edward Earl of Chester; of Queen Isabella; or (as he prefers to think) Queen Philippa. After all, it would seem more likely that, as the south side had the arms of King Edward the Confessor between those of Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and Henry Earl of Lancaster, so the missing one between the coats of Edward III and John of Eltham, may have been the arms of St. Edmund, so often found in association with those of St. Edward. It is doubtful, however, if Mr. Walford would have entered

¹ These and two other coats are identified by Mr. Walford in the *Suffolk Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii, p. 91.

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upon the field of conjecture at all, had he noticed how much larger ground there is for speculation than he discovered; for six other shields, similarly placed, in the middle bay of the passage-way, are also missing. The upper part of the gateway formed a large guard-room or hall, but no mention of the exact purposes to which it was applied has been found. In modern times this entrance has obtained the name of "The Abbey Gate." Anciently it was called "The Great Gates."¹ (See view, plate 5.)

The north gate (fig. 31, plate 2) is not alluded to in any ancient documents that have been examined. It is now in so imperfect a state that it might easily be overlooked. Still a piece of the wall raised to a superior height, and on the inside, marks of its side-walls with traces of a doorway into Mustowe-street, attest its former existence. It was in the nature of a postern, used as a private entrance to the part of the monastery appropriated to the abbot's use. Between it and the east gate of the tower is the most perfect piece of the abbey wall; a lofty range, with ten buttresses of a marked character, clearly fixing the date of this wall in the first half of the thirteenth century. The east gate of the town was taken down in the year 1763. After the year 1327 it was always in the custody of a janitor, appointed by the abbot, to secure the control of it to the monastery. Slight remains may still be seen against the abbey wall. It was sometimes called All Souls' Gate ("Al Seles").² At this point the abbey wall turns off to enclose the eastern side of the precinct, and crosses Ulnoth's river by a remarkably ingenious piece of construction. The wall is carried over the water by three pointed, segmental arches; between them, on the outside, are bold buttresses rising from the sterlings, the buttresses pierced with arches; so that by means of planks laid upon the sterlings, a footbridge passing through the buttresses was formed across the stream, along the face of the abbey wall. It started out of the town gate adjoining, and was therefore controlled by the janitor of the gate, and intended for his occasional use. Perhaps the planks were taken away when the bridge was not required. On the inside of the wall a permanent footbridge was constructed, and still remains, being a mere thickening out of the wall by four or five feet in its lower part. Under this thicken-

¹ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

² Regist. Curteys, f. 73.

ing, the arches which span the stream are more obtusely pointed than in the outer part of the wall, from which some have fancied the structure to be of two dates; but this is not the case, there being a complete unity in the work. The date of the whole, very obviously exhibited in the mouldings, is the first half of the thirteenth century. This structure is now commonly called "The Abbot's Bridge." (See view, plate 5.) The wall kept to the stream for a short distance, and then turned off to enclose a space, in old time called "The Vineyards," and now "Vine Fields." A considerable portion of ancient wall remains around The Vineyard, but does not appear to be older than the fifteenth century.

Let it now be considered that we enter the great court of the abbey by its gate, at fig. 12, and proceed to the chief domestic offices, which were always arranged at one side of the church, upon principles common to all monasteries of the order; that which we are now examining being one of the greatest Benedictine monasteries in the kingdom. We have to deplore the total destruction of the cloister, the chapter-house (fig. 20, plate 2), the monks' parlour with dormitory over (fig. 21), and the cellarer's stores with servants' dormitory over (fig. 15). The low, broken walls of the refectory (fig. 18) remain just sufficiently to shew its size to have been 157 feet by 48 feet, and preserving in its north wall marks of the recess of the pulpit. William of Worcester, in his *Itinerary* in 1479, gives the dimensions of the "*frayter*," as he calls the refectory: length, 171 feet, or 90 paces; breadth, 40 feet or 21 paces. Evidently his dimensions were merely a rough estimate, and not an accurate measurement. Of the other buildings now under consideration, he says, the quadrangle of the cloister is 80 paces square, the chapter house 50 paces long and 20 paces wide; and a second time he says the chapter house is 60 paces long and 20 wide. In Mr. Greene's well-kept garden the form of the cloister is very perceptible. It measures as nearly as possible 157 feet square, from the refectory wall to the church, and from the transept wall to a little bit of the wall of the cellarer's wing, close to the church, which appears on plate 1. Of the cellarer's wing there has been, in recent years, dug out at the extreme north end the foundation of the entrance porch projecting into the Great Court. In the porch the bottom part of the jambs of a fine doorway, of about A.D.

1240, are visible. Extending from this eastward, along the north side of 16 and 17, is a massive foundation, which, if properly examined, would, it is pretty certain, be found to contain, or to lie close to, the main sewer of the monastery, which would here run right across the site from west to east. Adjacent to its course in the western part must have been the kitchen of the monastery, which, according to the *Registrum Hostellarie*, was without the wall of the great court,¹ probably shut off by the high wall which still encloses the part figured 13; along with it the same authority mentions the brewery and the bakehouse. At figs. 16 and 17, it is most probable, were garderobes or water closets: the one for the cellarer's people, and the dormitory over his wing (fig. 15); the other for the monks' parlour or day-room, and their dormitory over (fig. 21).

To the east of these buildings was the Infirmary (fig. 28), arranged round a small cloister-court, having its own great hall and chapel with altar² dedicated to St. Michael, and two other altars. Adjoining to it was a great hall called originally "Spane," afterwards called "Bradfield Hall" and "Bradfield Spane," used first as a place of recreation for the monks, and afterwards as an addition to the Infirmary. Of the Infirmary buildings there remain a few fragments of wall, the piers of a series of arches. West of the cellarer's wing is the foundation (fig. 14) of a building which was the cellarer's house. In 1621 Sir Henry Spelman described a large stained glass window which then existed in the parlour where the cellarer dwelt. He treats of it as a pure antiquity; and yet, since its main subject seems to have been, as he interprets it, in ridicule of the Pope of Rome, it is difficult to believe it anything but a modern affair.

At fig. 13, enclosed along with the *kitchen* and offices, was the mint. The mint, however, was abolished a hundred and fifty years before the suppression of the monastery; so that traces of buildings which exist here must not be considered to belong to it.

At Bury, as at other ancient buildings, is heard the story of a subterranean passage. It is reported to lead from the cellars under the Angel Hotel into the abbey. The hotel is on the west side of what is now called Angel Hill. The cellars are vaulted chambers of the fourteenth century, par-

¹ *Regist. Hostellarie*, f. 42.

² *Lib. Alb.*, f. 69.

tially under ground, but once at the ground-level. They are about 110 feet distant, outside of the abbey wall, nearly opposite the end of the high wall enclosing the small court at 13, plate 2.

It is extremely probable that such a passage exists in this vicinity; but it would really be the sewer before mentioned, running directly to the north side of the buildings at 16 and 17, and thence down the grounds into the river. Along it would be conducted, according to the careful usage of those days, a current of water brought in from the outside of the monastery. Is this the sewer of which Gillingwater writes in 1804?¹ "As some workmen, a few years since, were employed in repairing an old house on the south side of the Angel Hill, they struck an iron bar through the floor in making a small wine-cellar under what was then Anderson's Coffee House. The place below was very spacious, had a plain arch, was more than 20 feet long, and there appeared to be a subterraneous passage from it to the abbey....It is further said that several persons went down into this passage, and passed a considerable way into it: one man in particular, who, having ventured too far, was lost; probably he was instantly suffocated by some unwholesome vapours he there met with. He went along playing on a violin as a signal of his safety, and was heard to a considerable distance; but the music suddenly stopping, he was heard of no more. Part of a staircase was discovered here, formed of freestone; probably it led to this passage."

In the eastern part of the grounds stood the prior's house, as we learn from the account preserved in the Register of Abbot Curteys,² of the residence in it of King Henry VI in 1433. The king had been staying in the abbot's palace from Christmas in that year till Epiphany following, when he removed to the "chamber of the prior," and "remained there till January the 23rd, on account of its pleasant situation, close to the water, and the sweetness of the air and odour of the vineyard. Moreover, by the gates of the vineyard he and his nobility had access to the open fields, where they occupied themselves in fox and hare hunting." Again in Lent the king came to the "chamber of the prior." In the account given by Mr. Yates³ of the visit of the Archbishop

¹ Gillingwater, p. 88.

² Regist. Curteys, f. 110.

³ Yates, p. 112.

of Canterbury to Bury in 1400, the position of the prior's house is indicated, in accordance with the previous references. Coming from the vineyard, the archbishop passed through the whole of the infirmary, visited the hall and chamber of the prior, and went into the cloister. This notice proves the proximity of both the infirmary and the prior's house to the vineyard, and shews that the infirmary held the usual position we have already assigned to it, eastward of the other domestic buildings. Adjacent to the prior's house must have been the house or hospice of the sacrist, which in Abbot Anselm's time was also near to the river, being close to the chapel of St. Andrew, taken down on account of the spreading of the water.¹ The chapel of the prior has already been shewn to have been the chapel of Sts. Stephen and Edmund in the Cemetery.

In 1849 some extensive foundations were dug out between the abbey church and the river. A careful plan of them was then made by Mr. John Darkin of Bury; and, except a fragment of the most eastern wall on the ancient margin of the stream, all was again covered up. The buildings discovered are shewn at fig. 29, plate 2. They, no doubt, form part of the hospices of the prior and sacrist.

The abbot's palace and offices included the whole range of buildings figured on plate 2, from 22 to 26, with part of the other range figured 27. All, except the portions figured 24 and 25, have considerable remains at the present day: 24 and 25 are drawn partly on the authority of Warren's plan of Bury, printed in 1747; and partly on that of an elevation of the front, of 22, 23, and 24, made for Sir James Burroughs in 1720 (when these buildings were an inhabited mansion), and engraved in 1745 for Battely's work. In this elevation, 24 appears as if it were a work subsequent to monastic times, and put together out of the spoils of other buildings. 22 is now a vaulted apartment entirely choked with soil. 23 was also a vaulted apartment; but its walls are not now more than 7 or 8 feet high, and the vault is destroyed. It is three bays long from north to south, and two bays wide; measuring 47 feet 6 inches by 39 ft. 3 ins. inside. The vault was carried upon two detached pillars, with half-pillars against the walls. These two apartments most probably formed the substructure of the abbot's hall,

¹ Lib. Alb., f. 213b.

to which access was afforded by a winding stair at the north-west angle. The architectural features of the remains are of the twelfth century. 26 has been in modern times fitted up for the residence of the keeper of the botanical gardens, now laid out in the great court. What can be seen of ancient work is of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The range figured 27 has its entire south wall in almost perfect condition. A good many fragments of its other side-wall also exist. In the south wall, at from 120 to 150 feet from its west end, are two little Norman or twelfth century windows. About 350 feet along the wall is a large doorway for the passage of carts. East of it occur four handsome lancet or thirteenth century windows; and then, about 100 feet from the first large door, is another. The whole length of the wall is 543 feet. Some of the lancet-windows are enriched on the inside with carved dog-tooth mouldings.

Of the history¹ of those parts of the monastery figured from 13 to 21 on plate 2, with figs. 28 and 29, the following has reached us. The refectory (18), the chapter house (20), and the infirmary (28), were erected by Godfrey the sacrist under Abbot Robert, before A.D. 1112. Although not named with Godfrey's work, the dormitory (21) must have been completed soon after, as well as the library over the chapter house; for Radulph Harvey, through the liberality of his brother Talbot, the prior, furnished the library; and because vellum could not be got in England, obtained parchment from Scotland, and "caused Master Hugo incomparably to paint the library." In the time of Abbot Ordning (in 1140, according to the *Chronicle of Ely*, quoted by Battely), the whole of the monastic offices were burnt. Upon this, Helyas the sacrist, successor of Radulph Harvey, wholly reformed the refectory, chapter house, infirmary, and dormitory. Probably we ought to include in his work both the monks' dormitory over 21, and the lay dormitory over 15. At all events, all other offices in the courts which his successors completed, we are expressly told he began. The cellary (under the lay dormitory) is first mentioned by Jocelin de Brakelond about A.D. 1176, in Abbot Hugh's time; completing the enumeration of all the buildings around the great cloister; which, with the cloister itself, though not named, it

¹ Where not otherwise stated, the authority is the history of the sacrists in the *Liber Albus*, f. 114.

is presumable were then finished. Under Abbot Sampson, and therefore before 1212, Hugh the sacrist and his predecessor¹ William reconstructed the infirmary (28). "In the place² where now is the new house of the infirm," says a writer in the *Liber Albus* about A.D. 1300, "I have seen a large tower in memory of St. Benedict, close to which, they say, the Abbot Baldwin had his chambers; and that tower with its porch, they say, was built by Alfric, son of Withgar; and a certain son of his, who was infirm, was placed there by the license of the abbots Uvius and Leofstan; and the manor of Melford and its appurtenances given to the church." Walter de Banham, who, under Abbot Sampson, succeeded Hugh, found the cloister in existence; and he laid on water, which he brought under ground a distance of two miles in lead pipes, to a lavatory in the cloister. He did not live to finish the lavatory; but all of it which was enriched with marble and sculpture he completed. Leland describes this as a marvellously sumptuous work.³ Soon after Abbot Sampson's decease, Richard de Newport, sacrist, rebuilt the chapter house (20) from the foundations. A principal apartment, viz. the locutory, or monks' parlour, which was under their dormitory (21), must be understood whenever the dormitory is spoken of, but is first mentioned in the year 1327; and a keeper of the locutory is mentioned about A.D. 1300.⁴ Both the great cloister and the cloister of the infirmary were wholly rebuilt by Prior John Gosford⁵ after the history of the sacrists was written, as the writer of that (probably about 1300) speaks of Walter de Banham's as the latest work there. John Gosford's work was therefore subsequent to 1300; and in all probability subsequent to the grievous destruction of the monastery, in 1327, by rioters, when the offices and domestic buildings were so much reduced to ruins that horses had to be stabled in the locutorium.⁶ When the prior's house (fig. 29) was first built is unknown. The remaining foundation has marks of work of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. It was wholly rebuilt by Prior John de Cambridge; and immediately afterwards, in 1384, destroyed by the rebels under Jack Straw.⁷ It was

¹ Lib. Albus and Jocelin de Brakelond.

² Lib. Alb., f. 213 b.

³ Leland, Itinerary, vol. iv, Appendix, p. 27.

⁴ Lib. Albus, f. 66, and Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

⁵ Leland, Itinerary, vol. iv, Appendix, f. 26.

⁶ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

⁷ Yates.

restored so as, in 1433, to be capable of receiving King Henry VI and his retinue.¹ Of the hospice of the sacrist, besides its existence in the same part of the grounds as the prior's house in Abbot Anselm's time,² there is a notice, in 1327, of the chamber of the sacrist, with the chapel, the wine-closet, and many other chambers there, with a tower.³ It is doubtful whether the sacristan's buildings which Abbot Sampson pulled down were in this vicinity. In consequence of the debauchery which he witnessed there with grief and indignation, when sub-sacrist, he caused the houses of the sacristan in the Cemetery to be levelled to the ground; "so that within a year, where a noble dwelling had stood, beans were growing; and where casks of wine had lain, nettles abounded."⁴

Except what has been quoted in reference to the cloister, no details concerning the restoration of the buildings after the riots of 1327 have reached us. Among the latest notices of the buildings of this part of the monastery is that of William of Worcester in 1479, when he measured the refectory, cloister, and chapter house, as has been previously stated.

A very few years before the final destruction came, we have an evidence of the security felt in the stability of the existing order of things. The will of William Place,⁵ priest, proved in 1504, says: "Item I bequeath to the monastery of Seynt Edmund forseid, my book of the dowl of Holy Scripture, to lye and remain in the cloister of the seid monastery as long as it will there endure." The cloister was fitted up⁶ with carrols or small enclosures, aumbreys or lockers, and closets for the use of the scribes and studious monks. They were in all probability placed along the side of the cloister next the church, as was the case at Gloucester, where the arrangement is still very apparent. It was necessary to keep the other three walks of the cloister free for traffic. On the west side, doors opened into it from the cellary, and it was the passage-way for the lay brethren into the church. The north side was the communication from the lay department to that of the monks; and the east side was in constant use for the access of the monks to their par-

¹ Regist. Curteys, f. 110.

² Lib. Alb., f. 213 b.

³ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

⁴ Jocelin de Brakelond.

⁵ Tymms's Wills.

⁶ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

lour and to the chapter house and church. The cellary (15) and the parlour, or locutorium (21), were probably both vaulted in two avenues. It is almost certain that the bases of the range of columns up the centre of each of these buildings, which carried their vaults, would be found by digging. The cellary here is scarcely equal in length to the corresponding building at Fountains Abbey, where it yet retains its vaults entire, and is 301 feet long inside.

The cellarer's house is not amongst those buildings whose site could be fixed now from any rule of ancient practice. It is continually recorded of it in the MSS. that it was in the earliest times on the site of the ancient house of Beoderic, near to Scurun's Well. In the time of Abbot Sampson, according to Jocelin de Brakelond, the ancient house of the cellarer had fallen into the occupation of the infirmarer. It was near to the river; for the same author tells us that, by damming up the water to improve his park, the abbot caused it to overflow upon the cellarer's and infirmarer's grounds. That the infirmarer's chambers were close to the infirmary (fig. 28, plate 2), we know from the way his residence is mentioned in the year 1327, at the sacking of the monastery.¹ It may therefore be assumed that the cellarer's house (afterwards the infirmarer's) was between the infirmary and the river; and near this point was "fons Scuruni," or Scurun's Well. The probability is that this "fons Scuruni" was the stream afterwards conducted through the monastery sewer. It flowed down from the town, as we find a street called "Schorunstrete" and "Scurunstret."² The name of this street does not occur in modern times. Perhaps it is the same as that which in the reign of Henry VIII² was called "Baxter-strete" *alias* "Welle-strete," and which is now called High Baxter-street in its south part, and Well-street in its north section. Some part of this street is a probable position for the upper part of the spring. The cellarer seems to have been deprived of much of his ancient revenue, and

¹ Regist. Hostellaris, p. 42.

² Baxter-street *alias* Welle-street, named at f. 43 in a register *temp.* Hen. VIII (Harl. MS. 308). To the ancient streets before named, at p. 34, may be added the following, occurring in the time of Henry VIII, in deeds preserved in the same MS.: Brysset-lane, Barwell-strete otherwise College-strete, Punche-lane, Horsmarket, Hennecote-stret, Hatter-strete, Old Baxter-strete, Maister Andrew-strete, Mustowe in the south ward (besides Mustowe in the east ward), Welle-strete, Cook-row, Garland-strete, Burreman's-lane, Lomby's-lane, the Brentgonyl, the Neet Market, Sparwehyll, and Skurff-lane.

³ Regist. Cellarii.

consequent dignity, even in the time of Jocelin de Brakelond; and which, perhaps, was one reason for the abandonment by him to the infirmarer, of his ancient house. In 1327¹ the rioters found the chambers and solar of the cellarer in a court not far within the gates of the great court, and evidently near to the cellary already described at fig. 15. The account justifies the belief that the foundations at fig. 14 are those of the cellarer's house. It had a little court of its own, in which was a pond; no doubt supplied by the "*fons Scuruni*."

Another building, frequently mentioned in the MSS. as Bradfield Hall, was an unusual enlargement of the accommodation; placed, as we have said, near the infirmary. The new hall, called "*Spane*," was built for the recreation of the monks by Richard de Colchester, sacrist, about 1260.² In the destruction of 1327³ its devastation is recorded after that of the infirmary, and before that of the hall and chamber in which the king was frequently accustomed to be. It is called "*quandam mansionem solempnem vocatam Bradefield*." It must have been a little before this that it is referred to in some instructions concerning those monks in the infirmary who had undergone the customary blood-letting, after which they frequently dined in "*Bradfield Spane*."⁴ In the grant⁵ of the site of the monastery to John Eyre in 1560, Bradfield Hall is again mentioned. At this time, as in 1327,⁶ a building called "*The King's Hall*" was still in its neighbourhood, in the gardens in the rear of the abbot's palace. Another building which was in this part, erected under Abbot Sampson, was the Hall of the Baths. No part of it remains; but Mr. Tymms states that the baths were filled up about a hundred and thirty years since, and that the building was about twenty yards square. It was near to the hexagonal (not octagonal, as all descriptions say) turret now standing. (Fig. 30, plate 2.) This turret is later than the monastic times.

We now come to the history of the abbot's palace and of the buildings on the north and west sides of the great court. According to the traditions existing about A.D. 1300, Abbot Baldwin's residence was on the site then occupied by the infirmary.⁷ An expansion of the domestic buildings similar

¹ *Regist. Hostellarie*, f. 42.

² *Liber Albus*, f. 114.

³ *Regist. Hostellarie*, f. 42.

⁴ *Liber Consuetudinarius*, f. 53.

⁵ Yates.

⁶ *Regist. Hostellarie*, f. 42.

⁷ *Liber Albus*, f. 213b.

to the expansions upon his design for the church, caused its removal to figs. 22, 23, plate 2. The first direct notice probably refers to Baldwin's building. Godfrey,¹ the sacrist in the time of Abbot Robert (1107-1112) completed the abbot's hall. In the time of Abbot Ordning all the offices of the abbey being burnt, and along with them the abbot's hall, the whole were entirely reformed and rebuilt by Helyas the sacrist² (1148-1157). Of this age, and a little later, are the remains at 22 and 23, plate 2, the substructure of the abbot's hall. The later features of the work are by Walter de Banham, sacrist. He was late in Abbot Sampson's time (1182-1212), found the building in dilapidated condition, and renovated it. The inner chamber of the abbot, mentioned by Jocelin de Brakelond, was as usual a projecting building at the back of this hall. A projecting wall at that part yet remains. That the abbot's buildings were in the position we have assigned to them at this time, contiguous to the monks' dormitory, is proved by a notice in the time of Abbot Sampson.³ He built for himself a new larder in the court lodge, and gave the old larder to the convent for the accommodation of the chamberlain, it being very inconveniently under the dormitory. The mention of his larder in the riots of 1327⁴ seems to show that this new one was in immediate connexion with the end of the convent cellary (15) and the cellarer's house (14). At this time, a little in the rear of the abbot's hall, were the "hall chambers and kitchen,"⁵ where the king often staid."

At the death of Abbot William de Exeter an inventory of his goods was taken, and handed to his successor, William Curteys, in 1429.⁶ The apartments enumerated are,—the abbot's chapel, hall, chamber, wardrobe, buttery, cellar, stable, bakehouse, and brewhouse. The articles found in the rooms give a complete idea of the furniture of the apartments. The list is very curious, but too long to be quoted here. The king's hall, we know, existed down to the suppression of the monastery; and in that part, no doubt, it was that Henry VI was accommodated whilst he stayed with the abbot in 1433. At this time the abbot's residence is designated "palatium." "The Palace" seems to have become its ordinary description;

¹ Liber Albus, f. 114.

² Ibid.

³ Jocelin de Brakelond.

⁴ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Regist. Curteys, f. 11 b.

for in a deed of 1560, granting it to John Eyre, although it is called a mansion, the garden belonging to it is called "pallaces" garden. In Abbot Curteys's time the abbot's stables were on the north side of the court. We learn from deeds of 1560 and 1581, that the abbot's stables then retained that title, and were described as in the north part of the court, evidently some part of the building fig. 27, plate 2. This range was commenced under Abbot Ordning² (1148-57), and finished soon afterwards. Abbot Sampson, to whose time (1182-1212) most of it, however, belongs, found the stables and offices in the court lodge, and round about the same, open at the sides. He closed them up, *i.e.* walled up the sides, and substituted a better covering to the roof in lieu of the old one, which was of reeds.³

The almonry stood adjoining the great gates of the court, on its south side, and against the wall of the convent. Abbot Sampson found it a wooden building, and reconstructed it in stone; the expense whereof was chiefly defrayed by Walter the physician, one of the monks.⁴ Adjacent to the almonry, within the court, was the Guest Hall, which had its own chapel, dedicated to St. Lawrence. It must have been one of the buildings in the great court commenced under Abbot Ordning; but is not mentioned till the time of Abbot Sampson, who, we learn from Jocelin de Brakelond, then master of the guests, caused it to be rebuilt. Its chapel of St. Lawrence is mentioned in the order for the delivery of tapers, of about A.D. 1300.⁵ Abbot Sampson also erected the hall of pleas,⁶ which was situated⁷ in the vicinity of the Guest Hall, and close to the court, fig. 13, plate 2.

A very complete view of the buildings which the monastery comprised, is afforded in the account of the riots of 1326 and 1327, preserved in one of the registers.⁸

The final disasters of his reign were thickly gathering about the king, Edward II. The whole kingdom was in confusion; and, whilst the queen and nobles were in arms against the king, the burgesses and populace exhibited in the most lawless manner their dislike of some of the principal ecclesiastical corporations. The monasteries of St. Albans, Abingdon, and Bury St. Edmunds, suffered greatly.

¹ Tymms.

² Lib. Albus, f. 114.

³ Jocelin de Brakelond.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Lib. Alb., f. 69.

⁶ Leland, Itin., vol. iv, Appendix, p. 27.

⁷ Regist. Hostellarie, f. 42.

⁸ Ibid.

Queen Isabella, in 1326, landed in Essex on the 24th of September with her son, Prince Edward. She came to Bury St. Edmunds on Michaelmas day, and thence set out on that expedition against the king which within four months deprived him of his crown. His son, Edward III, was declared king on the 20th January, 1327. Eight days before this, on the 12th January, the discontented burgesses of Bury St. Edmunds assembled at the Guildhall, and determined on extorting from the monastery some changes in the administration of the affairs of the town and the property of the convent, which they had long wished to obtain. The very next day they took forcible possession of the monastery, committing vast destruction in it on that and the two following days. They continued in possession for not less than ten months, keeping the monks in constant terror by frequent ravages; but the chief ravages, after the first three days, were early in February, when they imprisoned the abbot; in May, when the secular clergy were conspicuously leading the rioters; and in October, when the complete destruction of the monastery seemed resolved upon, and for several days it was given up to the flames, the people carrying off the lead from the roofs as it fell down molten into the gutters, and using tortoisés and other appliances to ascend to the top, to remove this valuable commodity. At length the presence of the sheriffs put a period to the destruction, which had been so complete that they found no shelter for their horses except in the parlour of the monks. The king's judges soon arrived, and made such short work of their business that on the 14th December nineteen of the rioters were hanged. For several years the convent was engaged in lawsuits for the recovery of damages, of which very full particulars are preserved, till finally they got a verdict against the townspeople for £140,000; so ruinous to them that the king himself arranged with the convent to remit it altogether.

In the narrative of the first attack on the monastery, the progress of the spoliators is very clearly described. The description confirms the arrangements already assigned to the principal buildings. In the subsequent ravages the mob was split into so many gangs all operating at once, and the destruction became so general that a similar order could not be observed in enumerating the buildings destroyed; and it

follows that, though named together, the buildings were not always adjacent.

In the first attack the rioters, about three thousand in number, having first broken the great gates (12, plate 2), and effected an entrance, destroyed the doors and porch of the sub-cellary (cellary 15), drew out the spigots from the casks, and let the beer run out on to the ground. Thence entering the cloister, they broke the lockers, carrols, and closets in it, and carried off the books and muniments. Afterwards they entered the chamber of the prior (29), and took thence vessels of silver and jewels; and broke the chests and closets of the sacristan, which they emptied of their valuable contents and muniments, and consumed his wine. Thence they visited the infirmary (28) and chamberlain's department (at the north end of 21), carrying off everything of value, and greatly disturbing the infirm monks. Next they broke into the treasury of the church (between the chapter house and north transept, over the sacristy or vestry) and spoiled it of a vast amount of gold and silver vessels, money, jewels, charters, and muniments. At a second visit to the vestry they carried off a quantity of the richest tunics, copes, chasubles, and dalmatics, thuribles, festival or processional crosses, golden chalices and cups, and even took the "Corpus Dei" in its golden cup from the altar of the church. They also plundered the refectory (18). During the summer they took away all the arms from the wardrobe of the abbot, carried away in the abbot's carts the victuals of the convent, broke the conduit, and cut off the water-supply, took down the church doors, and destroyed the glass windows of the church.

For the last attack, on Sunday the 18th of October, they entered the presbytery of the church after vespers, but were driven out by the monks. They then rang the bell in the Tolhouse of the town, and the fire-bell in St. James's tower (11), and so collecting an immense multitude, they burnt the great gates of the abbey (12), with the chamber of the janitor and master of the horse, the common stable, the chambers of the cellarer and sub-cellarer (14), of the seneschal and his clerk, the brewery, cattle-shed, piggery, mill,¹ bakery, hay-house, bakery of the abbot, prior's stable, with his gates and hall and all its appendages (29); the guest-

¹ The mill-house is mentioned in the deed of 1581.

hall (between 13 and 12) "in both parts," with the kitchen and with the chamber of the master of the guests, and the chapel of St. Lawrence; the whole department of the chamberlain and sub-chamberlain, near the infirmary, with all its appendages; the great edifice, formerly, of brother John de Soham, with many appendages; the beautiful solar in the eastern part, with the new hall of study of the prior (29), with the buttery; part of the great hall of the prior, with the butlery and the chamber of the prior's chaplain; the great hall of the infirmary (28) with two large chambers of the chaplain of the infirmary; a certain solemn mansion called Bradfield, close to the infirmary, with the hall, chambers, and kitchen, which the king occupied so frequently; the chamber of the sacrist with his *vinarium* or wine-store, and many other chambers there; and the tower adjoining the prior's house; the whole house of the convent without the wall of the great court (13), viz. the hall, solars, chambers, brewery, bakery, granaries, and hay-barn, to the stable and house of the carpenter, the houses of the sub-sacrist, with the mint and other offices there; besides within the court (great court) the entire almonery (between figs. 12 and 13) from the great gates of the court, with a penthouse for the distribution of bread, as far as the hall of pleas, which they also burnt, with a kitchen, two large solars, and two chambers; the chamber of the queen, with the larder of the abbot and his granary at the pond in the court of the solars of the cellarer (14); the granary of the sub-cellarer with his gate and the chapel built over it; the chamber of the cook in the larder of the convent, the pitancery, and chamber of the precentor.

The whole town of Bury was walled in by the famous sacrist, Radulph Harvey, in the middle of the twelfth century, and the historian of the sacrists considered the excellence of this to surpass all his other works. If any part of the town-wall remains, it was not brought to the notice of the British Archæological Association. The five gates,—severally in Eastgate-street, Northgate-street, Risby Gate-street, Westgate-street, and Southgate-street,—were ordered by the corporation of the town to be pulled down in 1761, and the last of them disappeared in 1765. Near to each gate, except the Westgate, was a hospital. The remains of St. Saviour's, without the Northgate, are close to the road,

and were noticed by the Association. It was founded by Abbot Sampson at the end of the twelfth century. The small remnant of the building is of the fifteenth century. St. Nicholas Hospital, some distance without the Eastgate, has considerable remains, now converted into a farm homestead. Its antiquities are made in appearance more important than they really are, by the addition of some of the work taken from St. Petronilla's Hospital. The building is worthy of a close examination, but the Association had no opportunity for this. St. Peter's Hospital, without the Risby Gate, was founded under Abbot Anselm, and its chapel dedicated in the reign of King Stephen. The Hospital of St. John, called also "Domus Dei," was at the Southgate, and a very ancient foundation. If any remains exist of these two, their importance was not sufficient to find a place in the programme of the Association at their Ipswich Congress. It would, nevertheless, be worth while, whenever the opportunity occurs, to put upon record any particulars that can be gathered of their sites, as well as of the sites of St. Petronilla's Hospital at the Southgate, St. Stephen's Hospital in Eastgate-street, St. Thomas's Hospital, opposite St. Saviour's, in Northgate-street; St. Botolph's Chapel in Southgate-street, founded by Abbot John de Norwold; the College in College-street, and the chantries which are marked on Warren's plan of 1747, and Babwell Friary.

The existing records of the monastery of St. Edmunds Bury are so numerous that vast information could be obtained beyond what it has been attempted to arrange in the foregoing paper. Some of the conjectures and suggestions would no doubt, on further examination, require modification, and others would be certified. The object has been to distinguish carefully between what is established, and what is not certain, so far as the investigations have been pursued.

NOTE.

Abbreviated forms of reference to the MSS. consulted having been used in the preceding pages, the full references are here given.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A Register temp. Henry VIII	.	.	.	MS. Harleian, 308
Annales Abbatiae S. Edmundi	.	.	.	Ditto, 447
Registrum Werketone	.	.	.	Ditto, 638
Registrum Kempe	.	.	.	Ditto, 645
Liber Albus S. Edmundi Burgi	.	.	.	Ditto, 1005

The numerous references to "f. 114d" and "f. 213b" are not necessarily to matter quoted from those pages, but to some part of the Histories of the Sacrist and of the Dedication of the Chapels, which commence there.

Jocelin de Brakelond. This chronicle is contained in the *Liber Albus*, and has been used with the convenient help of the translation by T. E. Tomlins.

Liber Consuetudinarium S. Edmundi Burgi .	MS. Harleian, 3977
Vita et Passio S. Edmundi p. Abbo Floriacensis	MS. Cotton, Tiberius B. ii.
Hermani Archidiaconi Miracula S. Edmundi	Ditto ditto.
Registrum Hostellarie S. Edmundi Burgi .	Ditto Claudius A. xii.
Chronica Johannis de Oxanedes	Ditto Nero D. ii.
Registrum de Hulmo	Ditto Galba E. ii.
Collectanea	Ditto Cleopatra E. iv.
Inquisitio de Effractione Abbatie S. Edmundi	Ditto Faustina B. iv.
Registrum Album Monasterii de Burgo S. Edmundi	Additional MS. 14847
Registrum W'mi Curteys	Additional MS. 14848
Rentales S. Edmundi Burgi	Additional MS. 14850

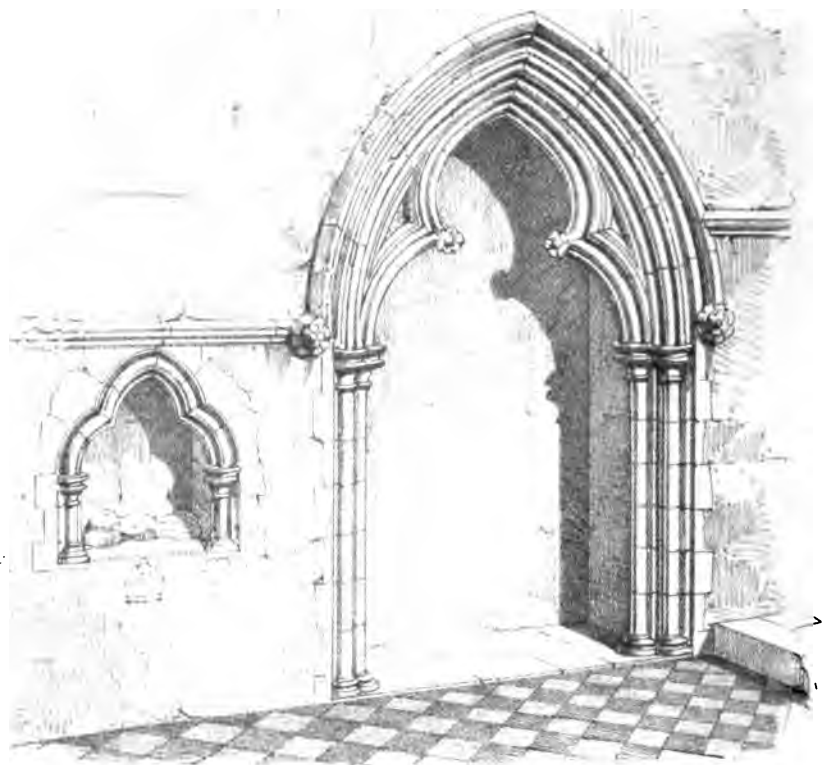
IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.
HASEMYTH'S CATALOGUE.

Album Registrum Vestiarii sive Registrum	
Pinchbeck	Ee. 3, 60
Registrum Sacristie	Ff. 2, 33
Registrum Rubeum	Ff. 2, 29
Registrum Callerarii	Gg. 44
Nigrum Registrum de Vestiario	Mm. 4, 19

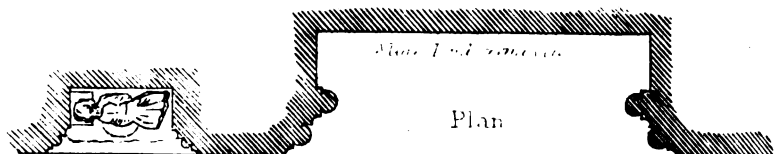
ON A HEART-BURIAL AT HOLBROOK CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

BY R. M. PHIPSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

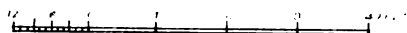
HOLBROOK, a small village about six miles from Ipswich, and situated on the banks of the Stour, possesses a church which, in more than one respect, is of considerable interest. The nave and chancel are of the early Decorated style, and were probably built at the commencement of the fourteenth century, soon after Edward II began to reign. A south aisle was added about the year 1520. Entirely round the older part of the church are built into the walls, both inside and out, a large number of circular stones ten to twelve inches in diameter. They are about five feet from the ground. Three occur both externally and internally at the



Foundation of the High Church, Chesham, Bucks.



Scale of Plan.



east and west ends; and on the north wall, previously to a portion of it being cut away for a new aisle, had seven on each side of it. They are all very much defaced; and although much discussion has taken place as to their purpose, I think there can be little doubt they were originally intended for consecration-crosses, which were either carved or painted on them. It is true that consecration-crosses are generally merely stencilled on the flat wall, and do not usually occur so frequently or so regularly, especially on the exterior of a church; at least I have never met with or heard of an instance of the kind; but it is difficult to conceive for what other purpose they could have been intended; and we all know that the mediæval architects never did anything without a meaning.

Some have supposed they were "perpent," or bond-stones; but this cannot have been the case; for although the external and internal positions of them so nearly correspond as to lead a casual observer to conclude they went quite through the wall as one whole stone, yet I found upon removing some of them, that they were in no instance more than three or four inches in thickness, and in some cases even less.

But to come to the more immediate purport of this paper. On the north side of the chancel is, or rather was, the founder's tomb, coeval in style with the earliest part of the church. (See plate 6.) The arch and jambs, very fine specimens of early Decorated work, still remain; but the altar was removed in 1824, to make room for a fireplace! which, five or six years later, was taken away, and an arch cut through to form a doorway to a vestry. This is still the present state of it. What was on the altar-tomb I have been unable to find out.

Close to the tomb, and raised three feet from the ground, is a small niche about the size of an ordinary piscina, of undoubtedly the same period as the founder's tomb. The slab within it contains a small figure so mutilated that it is almost impossible to say whether it had been a whole effigy, or only part of one, as at Narborough in Norfolk. I am rather inclined, however, to think it is the latter. The general form of the head, and the pillow upon which it rests, are sufficiently clear; and there is enough of the left arm remaining to show that the hands either met in the

usual attitude of prayer, or, what is probable, owing to the subsequent discovery I made, held a metal or stone heart.

Upon removing the slab, on which this effigy was carved, I found a solid stone below, in the centre of which was sunk a circular hole, as sharp and as perfect in its outline as the day the mason cut it, about five hundred and fifty years ago. This sinking measures six inches in diameter at the top, and tapers down to four inches and three quarters at the bottom, the depth being six inches.

Inside this, and closely fitting to the sides, almost as if it had been cast in it, was a metal vase or jar, nearly perished by corrosion. It had a metal cover with a knob, which being thicker and heavier than the rest, upon the decay of the lower part sank down by its weight into the centre of the vase. Upon lifting it, and removing the pieces of metal, I found the vase to be three parts full of a chalk lime and loamy substance, in which were interspersed several small pieces of charcoal and other substances, the nature of which neither my friend Mr. Fitch nor myself have been able to get a satisfactory solution of by analysis. There can be, however, but little doubt that the vase contained the remains of a defectively embalmed heart; or it may have been (considering the presence of charcoal) burnt previously to its interment. It is well known that hearts, and sometimes the bowels, were not unfrequently separately buried,¹ about the period to which the monument may be safely attributed.

Mr. W. S. Walford mentions an instance of the discovery of just such a vase as this in Herefordshire, which was opened in 1861; the only difference being that the effigy was that of a lady nearly life size, and that she held in her hands a vessel fitted to contain a heart. Mr. Walford's account is as follows :

"A very remarkable instance of a heart-interment was lately discovered in the church of Ewyas Harold, an adjoining parish to Dore, in

¹ The reader is referred to the chapter on heart-burial in Mr. Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, published in Bohn's series of *Antiquarian Library*, pp. 249-61, in which he traces the practice from the time of the ancient Egyptians, and gives a list of known instances from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. Since this publication, Miss Hartshorne has materially added to the number of examples in her elegant work entitled *Enshrined Hearts of Warriors and Illustrious People*. Lond., 1861. 8vo.

Herefordshire, where there is an effigy of a lady, nearly life size, holding between the hands, which rest on the breast, such a vessel as might be supposed to contain a heart. Its date appears to be about 1300, or a little later. On opening this tomb in October 1861, in the presence of the vicar, the Rev. W. C. Fowle, and others, there was found under the hands, and only a few inches below the effigy, a flat stone covered by an intervening flat stone of larger size, on which lay some rubble, and then the effigy; and in the lower of these two stones was a hemispherical cavity, about five inches in diameter, in which were fragments of a metal vessel that seemed to have been lined with a woven fabric, and probably had contained a heart. Immediately over this cavity, on the under side of the stone that covered it, was painted in white the form of a vessel suitable for inclosing a heart; and such as might have been, and probably was, deposited in the cavity. No trace was discovered of the body: that, most likely, was interred elsewhere. It is not known who the lady was; but there is some reason to suppose she was Clarice, the elder daughter of John de Tregoz, who held by barony the castle at Ewyas Harold, and died about 1300."

There was also a singular deposit of a heart encased in clay, found some years since in a church in Kent, near East Peckham; and not far from a curious niche destined for a double heart deposit, which was lately discovered at Leybourne Church, Kent, and conjectured to hold the heart of Sir Roger de Leybourne.¹

I ought not to forget to mention that, upon a careful examination of the vase at Holbrook, a small ornament can be seen engraved round the edge of it as well as round the edge of the cover. The metal appears to me to be a mixture of tin and copper. It becomes an interesting question as to whom the tomb belongs. Upon this I can throw an indirect light. There can be, I think, no doubt, when we consider the precisely similar style of the founder's tomb with this small one so close by its side, that the latter contained the heart of either his wife or child. Still there appears to me to be nothing about the rough remains of the small effigy to indicate distinctly its being that of a female. In referring back, however, to the list of the lords of the manor, I find that John de Holbrook held it in 1281; and that Alice, his wife, died seized 1310; and that another John de Holbrook, probably their son, died seized 1317; and afterwards John de Holbrook, son and heir of the last named, held the manor.

¹ See Rev. L. Larking in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. v, p. 136.

A.D. 1310 appears to me to be about the correct date of the tomb; and if we only grant that the lord of the manor was founder of the church, a very usual case, we can easily suppose that John de Holbrook of 1281 commenced; and that his wife completed it after his death, making provision that her heart should be buried by his side. If, however, the effigy is not that of a female, but a male figure, then we must conclude that it was the heart of the son who died in 1317. In 1376, Margery, daughter and coheir of Sir John de Holbrook, and wife of Sir John Fastolf, died seized of the manor, whence it passed into the family of the Fastolfs.

I ought not to conclude this short account of the interesting points about this church without mentioning that in the south aisle there is a fine monument to Judge Clench, who died in 1607.

MS. COLLECTIONS RELATING TO THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

BY S. WILTON RIX, ESQ., MAYOR OF BECCLES.

At the late Suffolk Congress, held at Ipswich in August 1864, S. Wilton Rix, Esq., the Mayor of Beccles, obligingly sought out for us, from various sources, information likely to excite discussion and inquiry; and among other collections of MSS. to which he had access, was that of the late Earl of Gosford, who felt anxiety for the success of the meeting, and the advancement of the illustrations of the antiquities of the county. The following papers have been derived from these sources, and constitute a valuable addition to the original documents relating to the county of Suffolk:

- i. Antiquities of Glemsford and Hartest.
- ii. Offices and fees *temp.* James I.
- iii. Chief constables' accounts, Looes Hundred, Suffolk.
- iv. Moated enclosures at Brampton "Old Hall," Suffolk.

"A breeff Collecon of the Customes and Pr'ogatyves belonginge to the Towne of Glensforde,¹ with the Antyquyties of the same.

"Impm's. Glensford and Hartest of most aunoyent tyme have ben annexede to the franchies or libertye of St. Audries in Elye, and reckened for p'cells of the possessions belonginge to the same franchies, as yt appeareth by a charter of St. Edwarde the confessor made aboue 500 yeares agoo.

"Edgar, a'o D'ni 913, reg. 13. It'm m. All cawses, penalties, correcons, and all transgressions of lawe and justyce in seculer affayers, were tryede before the officers of the same franchies & libertye; which prerogative is approved by aucthorytie of p'liament a'o 12 Edw. 2.

"Egeldrede about y^e yeare of God 978. It is mencyonede in y^e chart' of St. Edw. y^e Kynge Egelrede established the libertye of Elye with a p'vilege granted by hym selfe and the peers of his realme; but the coopye therof is not expressed.

"Kynge Edw. confessor, a'o 1043. The townshipp aforesaid were reckoned as places exempted out of the cowntye of Suff., in so much y^t neyther the earle of the cowntye, called in Laten *comes* (*comes* signifieth an erle, a reve, ruler, or guardian of a cowntye, a shier-reve), nor the minister of any other exacc'on, coulde enter & intermedd' within them onlesse he weare lycensed & called thither by the Abbott of Elye app'ved by p'l'am^t aforesaide.

"It'm. For the antyquitye of the franchies & libertye of Elye aforesaid yt maye be noted, owt of the recorde of the same charters, y^t a Quene of verye auneyent tyme, named Audrye, being dawghter to a kynge of East Angles, a people which inhabited Suffolk, Northfolk, & Cambridgesh'r, and espoused to the kynge of the north, forsoke her husband under a p'tence of religion and of vowide virgynitye, and comynge to her jointer at Elye, she ther erected a house of nunes, endowinge yt w'th the verye same pr'ogatives and exemptyons that be aboue specyfied. How be yt in p'cesse of tyme, thoroughe turmoyle & cyvill warrs the same house was twise overthrowen, the landes therof remayneinge in the kynge's hande a longe tyme. At lengthe Arthelwolde, Busshopp of Wynchester, p'cured the same landes and liberties to be restored, and a howse of monkes to be builded in the same place.

"Wyllia' Conquerour about y^e yeare 1068.

"This Wyllia' established all the auneyent customes of y^e lands belonginge to the church of Elye, which said customs be specyfied in the Saxon tonge:

"Imp's. Y^t the lordes of these liberties (y^t is to saye y^e church of

¹ Eight miles and a half north-east of Clare in Suffolk.

Elye) should have the tryall of suyts betwixt p'tye and p'tye w'th the plee and amends of all trespasses in ther cowerts. This is called Sute & Søke.

"It'm. That they and the men of ther homage should be quytt of toole in all markets of thinges bought and sould, *alias* y' they shold have fredome of buynge and sellenge. This is called Tholla.

"It'm. That they shoulde have the ofspringe of ther bond-slaves w'th ther suyts & cattals whersoever they be founde in Englande. This is called Theam.

"It'm. That they should have authorytye to judge their tenn'ts beinge app'hended within the compasse or bo'nds of ther lib'ties for thefte, & convicted of the same. This is called Infangtheft.

"It'm. Y' they shold be quytt of amercyame'ts of entringe into howses vyolentlye and w'thowt lycence, and agenst the kyngs peace; and y' they sholde holde plea of such trespasses made in ther cowrts and in ther lands. This is called Homesokne.

"It'm. Y' they sholde have y' punishinge of breakinge y^e peace. Y' is called Grithbrice.

"It'm. Y' they shold be quytt of contenc'ons & dispightes, & have plea therof in ther cowrts with the am'cyame'ts. This is called Figh-wyt.

"It'm. That they shold be quytt of am'cyaments when any outlawed p'son flyethe and retorneth to the kyng's peace willinglye or by lycence. This is called Fyrdwytt.

"Fynallye, they have all maner of publyke forfytures within ther liberties.

"And all this is approved by the p'lyament aforesaid.

"Henry the Fyrst, a'o D'ni 1111, regni 12.

"By the suyt of a welthy abbot in Elye the abbacye or tytyle of an abbott was turnyde into the tytyle or name of a busshopp, so that from thence forth the busshope of y' place with his prior & his co'vente supplied the rowme authorytye and jurisdic'on which the abbott & his co'vente had before tyme vsed. Noted owt of cronycles.

"Rychard the fyrst, a'o D'ni 1189, reg. 1'o.

"Ther foressaid aunicyent customes be newelye established in Saxen tearms as sutes, pleas of trespasses, fredome of buynge and sellenge, ofspringes of villeyne, restraynt or punishment of theves, and of forceable entrye into howses and breakynge the peace, am'cyme'ts of fyghtinge and contenc'ons, certeyn forfyttas conteyned in the worde Firdwytt, and all other publyke and emedable forfeytes.

"It'm. Ther tenn'ts were quytt, thorowgh out the realme, of toole eyther of buynge or sellenge, and of passinge, y' is to saye, of suche customes as be exacted at fereis and waters, and of ye como' forfeitures of shiers and hundreds.

"It'm. Wheras the kyngs of old tyme were wont to searche aswell how many hides and acres of lande was in the realme, as also how many yoke of oxen ther were, and what other cattell everye man possessed. And accordinge to the number, quantytye, and valuac'on of such thinges to levie certeyne tributs called the Gelt and Danaghelt, the tenn'ts of y^e busshoppricke of Elye were discharged of suche tributes.

"It'm. Wheras the landes of Saint Andrye were burdened with certeyne bond tributs which they payde yearlye to the Castle of Norwich, by this charter they be discharged.

"And all this is approved by p'liam't a'o 12 Edw. 2.

"Hen. 3, a'o D'ni 1232, reg. 17. It'm. Within ther lorddshipp the said busshopp & prior had authoritye for ever to gather all am'cyame'ts, with all fynes growinge of such am'cyame'ts, and all forfayts of murder. And they had retourne of all wryts, all pleas, and catle distrayned and caryed awaye against guages & pledgs. And all other pleas which the shiriff maye impleade by any meanes, eyther by vertu of his office or of the kyngs wryts. Finally, yf y^e cownty of Suff. or any hundred of the same cownty did fall into am'ciament before the kyng's justices in ther circuites, or did make a fyne for y^e am'cyament, the tennants of the said lordshipp were quitt of y^e am'cyament; and yf they made a fyne, they gave nothinge towards y^e fyne. Approued by p'lyame't aforesaid.

"Edw. the fyrst, a'o D'ni 1299, regn. 27. Forasmuch as the Pryorye of Elye was annexed or rather unyted to the busshoppricke, yt is so chaused y^e (sede vacante) yt alwayes fell into the kyng's hands, for avoydinge of whiche inconvenyence the p'or made a fyne of a thowsande m'kes vnto the kyng, to the intente y^e he might holde his libertyes & possessions seuerall from y^e busshopps. Wherefore when the lands and possessions were devided, yt maye be thought y^e Glensforde was alotted to be a p'te of the busshop's severall porc'on.

"Edw. 2, a'o D'ni 1323, regn. 17. By y^e assent of a p'lyament holden at Yorke, all & singuler y^e foresaid charters and p'viliges from y^e tyme of Edgar to Edw. y^e fyrst be established to the busshoppricke and to the pryorye; and yt is graunted y^e no former default of vsage shall import any p'indyce to the busshopp y^e then lived or to his successors.

"It'm. By vertu of y^e same graunt, the busshopp within his towne of Glensford may sease the cattles of all fellowes condempned or fugityve, forthwith after they be condempned or fiede or wyll not appeare in judgment, etc.

"Edw. 3, a'o D'ni 1328, regn. 2. Certeyne generall wordes conteyned in the charters of Kinge Edgar & Saynt Edward the confessor be here
1865 20

expounded: by vertu wherof the busschopp w'thin Glensforde may exacte aswell a yeares wast of fellones landes as all ther other cattles, together withe all kynde of forfaytures whiche the kynges maye in anye wise clayme as apperteyninge to hymselfe.

"Idem, a'o D'ni 1342, regn. 17. It'm. Within the same townshipp he maye gather all am'cyame'ts & fynes, y' is to saye, aswell all fynes p' licentia concordandi, as also all fynes for all transgressions, and all fynes arisinge of what soever cause, of all his tenn'ts and lands in y^e same towne, in all cowrts & places of y^e kinge, etc. whersoever y^e said tenn'ts chaunce to be am'ced, or to make a fyne, &c.

"It'm. He hathe retoure aswell of all som'ons from y^e kyng's escheker, as also of all other what soever wrytts & p'cesse. In so much y' no shiriff nor any other of the kyng's bayliffs or officers can enter the same towne eyth' to serve & execute any such wryt or som'ons or to exercyse any other office, unlesse yt be for want & defect of the busschopp hymselfe or of his bayliffs other officers.

"Idem, a'o D'ni 1347, regn. 22. It'm. The same kinge graunteth to the busschopp of Elye all ysewes forfited in most large and effectual man'er.

"Other kynges. All and sing'ler which foresaid privileiges be established by Richard 2, a'o D'ni 1377, by Edw. 4, a'o D'ni 1457, regn. 4; by Henry 7, a'o D'ni 1485, regn. 32; by Henry 8, a'o D'ni 1510, regn. 2.

"Henry 7, a'o D'ni 1487, regn. 3. It is further confirmed y^t the Busschopp of Elye alwayes had and maye have aucthoryttee to appoynt his owne crown' w'thin all and singler his lordships, with full and ample aucthoryttee of crown'shipp, and y^t none of the kyng's crowners maye enter therynto to execute his or ther office, or to intermedle with any thinge under colo' of such office. And wheras his p'decessors were in olde tyme called abbots, yt is p'vided y^t he shall not be excluded from any fredome or pr'ogatyve graunted vnto them in auneynt charters, by whatsoever tytles they be called in the same charters. Confirmed by Henr. 8.

"Elizabethe a'o D'ni 1571, regn. 13. A recorde of the Quenes M'ties escheker conteyninge y^e charters w'ch Richard the first, Henrye the 3, and Edw. the 2, graunted or confirmed to y^e busschopprick of Elye was thorowghe the suite of the tenn'ts of Glensforde exemplified out of a certeyn note of memorandu' that was founde owt amonge the Records of St. Hillarye tearme in the 17 rool de a'o 17 Edw. 2. In witnesse of whiche exemplificac'on her gracious M'tye caused her letters to be made patent under the seale of her escheker. Dated, ut supra, 27'o Junij.

*"A comp'ison of Antyquities betwene the Liberties of London
and Elye.*

"The franchies or liberty of Elye was first vsed in y^e tyme of Quene Audrye, renewed by the charter of Edgar the ix kynge before y^e conquest. The libertye of London was graunted by St. Edw. the 2 kynge before the conquest, and renewed by the Conquerour hymselfe.

"And the liberty of Elye was first governed by Quene Audrye, the abbesse of the same place; secondlye by an abbot & co'vente a'o 913; thirdly by a busshopp and prior a'o 1111. The libertye of London was first governed by a portreve; secondly by two bailiffs a'o 1189; thirdlye by 25 governours, out of which the said bayliffs were chosen, a'o 1201; fourthlye by a mayor and ij shiriffs a'o 1207; fyftlye there were chosen aldermen to rule the wardes of the cytye a'o 1240.

"It'm. The tenn'ts of the libertye of Elye had fredome of buyinge & sellinge before the Conquest, and Kynge Richard the p'm's graunted them to pass tolefree thorowghe out the realme a'o 1189. The citizens of London had not the same pr'ogative of tolefredome before anno xj Henr. 3, anno D'ni 1226, whiche was 37 years after the date of Kyng Rycharde's charter.

"Gatherede by conference of the towne booke with the cronycle of London."

II. OFFICES AND FEES. TEMP. JAMES I.

Worlingham Hall, near Beccles in this county, a mansion sold not long since by the late Earl of Gosford to the Rev. Sir Charles Clarke, Bart., was for more than fifty years the residence of Robert Sparrow, Esq., father of the Countess of Gosford. Mr. Sparrow was a gentleman of antiquarian as well as classical and literary taste, and well deserved to be the possessor of a noble library. Through his marriage with the only surviving daughter of Sir John Bernard, who had married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis St. John of Longthorpe in the county of Northampton, Mr. Sparrow inherited at least a part of the collections of Sir Oliver St. John, solicitor-general to King Charles I (1640-43), and attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell.

Among some old documents in which the lamented Earl kindly gave me permission to search for anything which might prove interesting to this Congress, was found a manuscript book of about thirty fcap. leaves, and which was placed before the Association. It is marked on the cover,

in a recent handwriting, "MS. St. John," and bears internal evidence of having been compiled in the early part of the reign of James I. The MS. is intituled "A true Collection as well of all the King's Ma'ties Offices and Fees in any the Courts at Westm' as of all the Offices and Fees of his Ma'ties hono'able Howshoulde, togeth' w'th all Fees p'taininge to Captaines and Souldiors haueinge charge of Castles, Bullwarks, and Fortresses, w'hin y^e Realme of Englande; and likewise y^e Offices and Fees of His Highnes hono'able Howses, Parks, Forrests, and Chases, w'hin y^e said Realme."

The following enumeration of the contents will show that this manual is even more comprehensive than the title indicates:—

First we have a table of precedency headed "*The Plucking of Estates and Degrees of Nobility in England.*"

Then "*The Valluation of all the seu'all Liueings of all the Bishoppes of England, w'th the Tenthes that eu'ie one of them paieth.*" For example: "Archiep'at's Cantuarien' valet clare p' ann', decimæ inde, 3903*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*; Archiepat's Eborien' valet clare p' ann', decimæ inde, 2609*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*; Elien' Ep'at's valet clare p' ann', decimæ inde, 2301*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; Norw'ch Ep'at's valet clare p' ann', 896*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* Decimæ inde, 64*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.*"

Next follows a concise peerage, or list of "*The Nobilitie of Englande accordeinge to their Authorit's and Degrees.*" This began with "Paulett Marques of Winchest'r"; above whose name "Villers Duke of Buckingham" appears to have been inserted afterwards.

Then are given, with the addition under all the subsequent heads of the *fee* of each officer, "*Officers of the Courte of Revenues,*" beginning with "Lorde Treasurer of England, fee, 365*l.*; liu'y, 15*l.*" "*Officers of the Excheq'r.*"

Then "*The Courte of Wardes and Liveries,*" at the head of which stands "The Earle of Salesburie, M^r of the Wardes, fee, 200*l.*; diett, 200 mks." [Robert Cecil created Earl of Salisbury 4th May, 1605.]

"*Officers and Ministers of Iustice.*"—And first, "The Lorde Elmsmere, Lord Chauncellor of England,—fee, 23*s.* p' die'; for his fee in attendance in the Starr Chamb'r, 200*l.*; by the name of annuity, 300*l.*; roobes, 40*l.*; wyne, 11 tun at 6*l.* a tun; more paide him, key of y^e ward'op, 72*l.*" "M of the Rooles, fee, 38*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; liv'y, 8*l.*; 145*l.* in wyne

out of the butlerage belonging to the said office." Then,—
 "The Councill in the North, the Principallitie of South Wales, the Principallity of North Wales, the Countie Pallatine of Lancaster, the Countie Pallatine of Chester," and
 "Justices of oyer and det'miner," who had "from Trent southward, fee, 200*l.*," and "from Trent northward" the same.

"Officers in courte, the Admiralltie, the Armerie." Under the last we have : "The M^r, fee to the office, 30*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; for keepinge the arm'ey in the great gallery at Grenw'ch, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; & y rent of c'ten gardens vpon the tower hill of London, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"Officers at armes, the Minte, the workes, the greate warderopp, the butlerage of England, the tentes, the revells, huntinge (including Hariotts hart hounds, hart hounds, the buck houndes, and hounds meate), musitians, plaiers, and trumpeters; surgians, phisicians, apothecaries, astronim'; boatmen, artificers,"—under which last, among cutlers, paviers, the boyer [bowyer], and divers other handicraftsmen, are : "Keep^r of the libraries, fee, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"; also "arrowe head maker, fee, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; hand gun maker, fee, 24*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*"

"*Officers and Ministers of Howshoulde.*"—Under this head, besides the "Lord Great M^r, Treasurer, Comptroll'r, and Cofferer," are the following twenty-eight subdivisions : "The countinge howse, the garde, the iuell house, the roobes, the pantrie, the buttrie, the seller, the ewrie, the kitchin, the beeddes, the bakehowse, the spicerie, the confectianarie, the pitcherhowse, the chaundrie, the lardor, the bowltinge howse, the acatrie,¹ the poultrie, the scaldinge howse, the pastrie, the skullerie, the amners, the laundrie, the waffrie, the wooddyarde, porters and scorers, the M^r of the Horse." The first item under this last title is "the Earle of Worcest^r, M^r of y^e Horse, fee, 200*l.*; and at the foot of it is this note, "Summ' of the fees of the officers and ministers of howshould, 16,868*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*"

Then follows the list of "*Townes of Warr, Castles, Bullwarks, and Fortresses,*" which are enumerated under the heads of "Com' Canc', Dower [Dover], com' Sussex, com' Essex, com' Southton, com' Dorsett, com' Cornub', com' Eboru', com' Northubl'," and "Ilandes." In Kent are mentioned,

¹ "*Acaterie* (in the household), an officer in the king's kitchen."—Ash. "*Acaterie*, a sort of cheque between the clerks of the king's kitchen and the purveyor."—Bailey. "*Acater*, a caterer, a purveyor."—Nares, Halliwell.

among others, "the turffe bulwarke neare y^e Castle of Sandwich," "the like bulwarke of turffe in y^e Castle of Deale in y^e Downes," and "the Claie Bulwarke." The "ilandes" mentioned are "Garnsaie, Jarsie, and Celley" [Scilly]. The "sum of townes of warr, castles, bullwarks, and fortresses," is "18,051*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*"

"*Keepers, Officers, and Ministers of Castles, Howses, Parks, Forrests, and Chases,*" are arranged under the following twenty-eight counties: "Midlsex, Essex, Hartefforde, Suffolk, Northfolk, Camebridge, Huntington, Kente, Surrey, Sussex, Leicester, Hereforde, Stafforde, Salop, Darbie, Chester, Eboru', Southamton, Glocester, Somersett, Dorsett, Devon, Cornwall, Bark', Oxfforde, Northamton, Warwick, Northubl."; to which are added, "South Wales, Brecknock, Pembrook, North Wales."

Three items only relate to *Suffolk*: "St. Edm' Burie,—keep' of the gaile, fee, 73*s.* 4*d.*; keep' of y^e howses, fee, 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Framingham,—keep' of y^e castle, fee, 9*l.* 20*d.*; keep' of y^e park, fee, 60*s.* 10*d.* Westhorpe,—bailie of y^e manno' and keep' of y^e chase, fee, 8*l.*"

The "sum of all the fees of all the castles, howses, parks, forrests, and chases," amounts to "5,268*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*"

"*The Names of His Ma'ties Ships,* w'th the number of men and furniture requisite for y^e settinge forth of them," are given in tabular form under the heads of—"The names of ships, the nomb'r of men, the furniture, the burthen." *The Triumphe*, which is the first on the list, may serve as an example. This ship had "marin'rs, 450; gunn'rs, 50; soldiors, 250; caliu's, 250; bowes, 50; arrow sheffs, 100; pyks, 200; bills, 200; corsetts, 150; murrians, 200. The burthen, 1000 tun."

The manual under notice then proceeds to give a tabular statement of "*The generall Mustars* taken throughout the whole realme of Englande and Wales," enumerating "counties" [counties] "and citties, able men, armed men, pyoners, dimelance, high horses." A leaf at this part of the MS. has been torn out,—unfortunately that which contains Suffolk. There were :

	Able Men.	Armed Men.	Pyone'rs.	Demilances.	High Horses.
"In Northfolke .	6800	3500	350	25	140
In Norw'ch .	4000	2500	300	8	22
In Essex .	5280	3500	365	28	200
In Colchest'r .	400	180	30	0	10."

The lost leaf also deprives us of the title of a list of counties and names. Among them: "Suffolk,—Anthonie Wilkinson, p'son of Milford; Nicholas Wedon, archdeacon; Walt' Gersingham; Robte. Steepes, p'son of Hawkesteade; Edmond Smart, gent.; Richarde Selley, gent.; Henerie Druerie, gent.; Will'm Some, gent. Northffolke,—Will'm Dodd, scolem'r; James Busgrave, gent.; Will'm Phillips, gent."

The MS. ends with a statement of "*The Number of Churches w'thin everie Shire in Englande*," the first two counties on the list being—"Suffolk, 420; Northffolke, 674." In the *Architectural Notes of Suffolk Churches*, 541 are enumerated. The total number of churches in England, according to this MS., was 29,210.

III. CHIEF CONSTABLES' ACCOUNTS IN LOOES HUNDRED, SUFFOLK.

Among the MSS. exhibited at the present Congress by the kind permission of the late Earl of Gosford, is an account-book of the chief constables of the hundred of Looes in this county, extending from about the middle to the end of the seventeenth century. *Looes* is one of the six hundreds comprehended in the liberty of St. Ethelred,¹ the other five being Wilford, Thredling, Plomesgate, Carlford, and Colneis.

Of the remaining hundreds of Suffolk, eight are in the liberty of St. Edmund, several manors in the liberty of the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the county is embraced in what is called the *geldable* portion, in which issues and forfeitures belong to the crown.

The portion of Looes hundred to which this MS. especially relates, consists of ten parishes, namely, Framlingham, Earl Soham, Kenton, Creetingham, Monewden, Kettleburgh, Easton, Hoo, Letheringham, and Brandeston.

It appears by a memorandum on the first page, that when 1000*l.* was to be levied in this county, Looes hundred bore 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; of which the above parishes paid 22*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, and the other division of the hundred, 18*l.* 15*s.* It is further stated as follows: "What charges soeu' cometh

¹ Some idea of the emoluments attached to the liberty of St. Ethelred may be formed from the fact that, by a deed of 16 October, 7 James I (1609), it was arranged that all those emoluments, except as to the manors of Melton, Stoke near Ipswich, Kingston, and Winston, should be received by Sir Henry Glemham, Knt., for twenty-one years, in satisfaction of a debt of £445.

to y^e county of Suff^r for his Ma'ties service, if it be gen'all for y^e whole county, it is app'tioned as followeth, viz., the Guildable findeth y^e one halfe, the franchise of Bury and lib'ty of St. Etheldred findeth y^e other halfe; whereof y^e franchise of Bury find 2 pts. & the lib'ty of St. Etheldred one. As: if a charge of 600*l.* did come to y^e county, the Guildable doe find 300*l.*, the franchise of Bury 200*l.*, & y^e lib'ty of St. Etheldred find 100*l.*" "If a charge of 48*l.* cometh to y^e lib'ty of St. Etheldred, Looes is to beare y^e fourth p'te thereof, w'ch is 12*l.*, Wilford 8*l.*, and Thredlin 4*l.*, w'ch is halfe. Then Plumsgate hundred beareth 10*l.*, Calford 9*l.*, Coulnyes, 5*l.*, w'ch is the other halfe."

The book under notice purports to begin with a statement of what every town in the division [Letheringham, however, is omitted] was "charged for the King's Bench and Marshalsise, & ye maimed soulgers for halfe a yeare," amounting to 4*l.* 8*s.* 10*s.*: of which was paid for the King's Bench and Marshalsise, 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; the maimed souldiers, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*"

Among other practical illustrations of the county rates at that period are the following: "Charged monthly upon this county 4700*l.* for y^e asseassm't of 90,000*l.* p' mens', beginning from y^e 25 of December 1649, & ending y^e 25 of March; whereof Looes hundred 587*l.* 10*s.*: whereof my p'tner's division is 264*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; my division is 323*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*,—587*l.* 10*s.* Unde, Framlingham, 91*l.* 19*s.*; Earle Soham, 32*l.*; Kenton, 30*l.* 14*s.*; Creetingham, 30*l.* 14*s.*; Monuden, 30*l.* 14*s.*; Hooe, 21*l.* 7*s.*; Letheringham, 12*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; Kettleburgh, 30*l.* 14*s.*; Brandeston, 21*l.* 7*s.*; Easton, 21*l.* 7*s.*,—323*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*" To this is added a memorandum that there was "charged upon the hundred of Loes for *arreares* for Ipswich, for y^e six monthes asseassm't, for y^e army, ending y^e 29th of September 1649, & likewise for y^e said 6 monthes, for Ireland, 63*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*"

On account of another assessment, of 60,000*l.* per month, 3133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was charged upon this county; whereof Looes hundred bore 391*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Again, of a charge upon the county of 6,266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per month, Looes hundred took 522*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* And of a like county charge from 25th December, 1652, to 24 March ensuing, "w'ch 3 monthes were collected at one entire paym't," Looes hundred paid 783*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: "whereof Mr. Downing [in the other division raised] 352*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; Mr. Hawes [whose account this is] 430*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*"

The next of these heavy claims upon the county is one of 3133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* towards the assessment of 60,000*l.* per month for three months. Then follows one of 35,000*l.* per month "upon England." Then another of 70,000*l.* per month for three months "upon England." And again, 70,000*l.* per month under the act for ordering the forces in the several counties of this kingdom, and by the express order of the Lord Lieutenant," and of which one week's pay for one year was ordered to be collected. Further, "by virtue of an act of 1 William and Mary, 1689, "for the raising of 68,820*l.* 19*s.* 01*d.* by y^e month, wthin this kingdome, for five months, the p^{ro}por^{tion} of Suff^{re} being 3298*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* p^{er} mens'; w^{ch}, for 3 monthes, comes to 9895*l.* 12*s.*; whereof Loes, 412*l.* 06*s.* 04*d.*" Under an act "for a grant to their Ma^{ties} of an aide of twelve pence in y^e pound, for one yeare, for y^e necessary defence of their realme, according to an order from their Ma^{ties} Com^{mission}ers y^e 8th day of Octob^r anno Dⁿⁱ 1689." No figures are given.

Besides other charges, the purpose of which is not stated, the book records many upon the county for repair and building of *bridges*. Among these are mentioned the bridges of Stratford, Bourne, Martlesham, Claydon, Wilford, Bungay, Mendham, Brandeston, Blythburgh, Beccles, Cretingham, Cosford near Hadleigh, Seamour [Semer], and Kettleburgh. In 1689 the money raised for repairing bridges was ordered "to lye as a stock in banke, in Mr. Robert Clarke's hands of Ipswich, who is appointed treasurer for the same." And again, in July 1696, when there was an order to raise 410*l.* in the county for similar purposes, the money is directed to be paid "to Mr. Robert Snelling of Ipswich, treasurer for the bridge money." In the following January 500*l.* were ordered at the Beccles sessions for "y^e rebuilding of Bungay Bridge" and repairing others. In July 1699 an order was made at Beccles quarter sessions for raising 100*l.* in Beccles, Woodbridge, and Ipswich divisions, towards the repairing of St. Olave's and other county bridges. And in January 1701, 200*l.* were raised in the same division of the county towards building and repairing Blythburgh and Beccles bridges.

There are also charges upon the hundred, "by order from the Lord Lieutenant, for y^e *mustar master's* pay."

The first specific mention of a charge for *maimed soldiers*

occurs in 1675, when it was ordered by the Court of Quarter Sessions at Woodbridge, 14 July, that "25*l.* should be levied within this division for an additional reliefe for the maimed soldiers," whereof Looes hundred bore 6*l.* 5*s.* A similar charge of 40*l.* on the "division," being 10*l.* on Looes hundred, occurs in 1678. In 1682 the division was charged for the same purpose 20*l.*, of which Looes hundred bore 5*l.* In April 1684, the division 40*l.*, Looes 10*l.* In Oct. of the same year an order was made at the Woodbridge Sessions for "y^e levying of 10*l.* per ann. as an addic'on to y^e tresury for y^e maymed soldiers; whereof Loes hundred is 2*l.* 10*s.*"

In 1676 or 1677 the following occurs: "By vertue of an act of this p'sent Parliam't, intituled an act for raising y^e sum of 584,978*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.* for the speedy building of 30 *shippes of war....* The p'portion of Loes hundred qu'terly is 206*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*, w'ch is just halfe as much as y^e last tax."

Lastly, there is an entry of the names of inhabitants in the several parishes whose carriages were required by warrant "for the *carryinge of timber* from Tannington and Brundish to Woodbridge" in 1675-78. This may have been timber for the ship-building.

IV. MOATED ENCLOSURES AT BRAMPTON "OLD HALL," SUFFOLK.

In many parishes of this county are found ancient *moated enclosures*, usually having old halls or farmhouses built within them. The moats are of various forms, but most commonly quadrangular. In the *History of Stowmarket*, the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth ascribes the origin of these moats to the "innumerable skirmishes" which took place between the Danes and Saxons. He says: "The whole surface of the country became studded with entrenchments, moats, and mounds, within whose lines the harassed Saxon defended his property."¹ The same writer considered that there was ordinarily an internal rampart; that in after times, when these mounds had been removed, and their material applied to farming purposes, the moats were kept entire or enlarged; and that, when the country was disturbed by internal wars, the cattle were driven at night into these enclosed grounds for safety, and to prevent sudden

¹ P. 23.

robbery from marauders. The enclosures, moreover, are supposed to be, in most cases, several centuries older than the houses standing within them. Security, convenience, a dry foundation, and a ready supply of water having led to building houses on those spots.

In some instances there are, *in the immediate neighbourhood of these moated enclosures*, similarly enclosed mounds of circular, or nearly circular, form. But this does not appear to be a common arrangement; for Mr. Hollingsworth gives plans of thirty-two moated enclosures, and only two of them exhibit any approach to this peculiarity. It is chiefly on this account that attention is invited to an instance which occurs at Brampton, between Halesworth and Beccles. It is not mentioned by Mr. Suckling in his *Antiquities of Suffolk*. Through the kindness of the present occupier, Mr. Hunter, I have seen a plan of the principal moat, and of the relative position of two circular enclosures. The spot is somewhat elevated, but does not command a very extensive view. It is situated about two miles and a half east of the Roman military way (between Bungay and Halesworth), now called "Stone-street," and at a shorter distance from an old road called "Brampton-street," branching out of Stone-street, and running eastward through Brampton towards the sea-coast.

The principal enclosure at Brampton Old Hall is oblong, and nearly rectangular, eighty-six by thirty-four yards. A part of the rampart remains on the north side, within the moat; but nearly all the rest is said to have been carted away, and laid on the adjoining land. The inner bank of the moat, on the south, has remains of masonry, probably the foundations of an ancient hall. The present farmhouse is not older than the Stuart age, and is of very rude construction, presenting no feature of antiquarian interest.

The smallest enclosure, next to the house, is not quite circular, but rather approaches to a square with very obtusely rounded angles. It is surrounded by a ditch, which on the south expands to a considerable breadth. The other and larger mound is nearly circular, its diameter being 30 yards. The elevation of the two does not materially differ; the present form being that of a depressed mound, the summit of which is about six feet above the level. Whether a part of the soil has been removed, I am unable to say.

It may be mentioned here that there are other circular moated mounds in some of the parishes of the neighbourhood of Brampton, but I am not aware that any of them are *attached to moated halls*.

The object of submitting this sketch is—1st, to raise the question whether these small circular enclosures are frequently found associated with moated houses in other parts of the kingdom, and what was their specific design and use; and then, 2ndly, to submit, with great deference, the more general inquiry whether *moated enclosures* may not deserve and admit of further and more satisfactory elucidation than they have at present received.

SUFFOLK.

COLLECTION OF MSS. IN COLL. ARM. FOR CO. SUFFOLK.

BY T. W. KING, ESQ., F.S.A., YORK HERALD.

Visitations.—The original of 1561, by William Hervey, Clarenceux; and several copies of the same, some of which are among Vincent's and Philpot's collections of MSS.

The original of 1557, by Cooke, Clarenceux; and Hervey's copy of the same.

The Visitation of 1612, by John Raven, Richmond Herald; deputy to William Camden, Clarenceux.

The original of 1664, by Bysshe, Clarenceux.

Vincent's MSS.—No. 442 contains a few church notes and names of knights of Norfolk and Suffolk. Date uncertain.

No. 431 contains a few abstracts from the Register of the Abbey of St. Edmunds.

Reyce's MS.—A volume of the collections of Robert Reyce of Preston, co. Suff.; being church notes, genealogical notices of Suffolk families, Suffolk arms, etc., *circa* 17p'm Car. II. Presented by Edward Thurlow, Esq., in 1803.

Pulman MS, No. 197.—A 4to. volume containing church notes and pedigrees of Suffolk.

Suffolk Collections.—A series of MSS. some time in the possession of John Ives, Esq., Suffolk Herald.

Vol. 1 contains abstracts from Patent Rolls, alienations, etc., relative to manors, lands, and tenements, in Suffolk, from the time of Hen. III to about 25 Eliz'æ.

Vols. 2, 3, 4, and 5, contain abstracts from *Inquisitiones post Mortem* for Suffolk from 28 Hen. III to 17 Car.

Vol. 6, patents of manors, etc., granted to divers persons by several kings of England.

Vols. 7 and 8, abstracts out of the institution-books, will-books, deeds, rolls, and other authentic memoirs relating to the county. Collected and digested by Francis Blomefield, clerk, rector of Fersfield in Norfolk.

Vols. 9 and 10, monumental inscriptions and other church notes.

A copy of Reyce's MS. is in the possession of Sir C. G. Young, Garter, who has also a MS. "History or Memoirs of Framlingham and Loes Hundred, in Suffolk," a'o 1712, by Robert Hawes, who appears to have been a Suffolk collector of some note.

It may be observed that, in the foregoing list of Suffolk MSS. in Coll. Arm., they are comparatively few in number; yet a great deal of information exists in the vast collections of official and private MSS. in the possession of the College, connected with the county.

BRITISH INTERMENTS AT LANCASTER MOOR.

BY JOHN HARKER, ESQ., M.D.

It is a curious fact that the Lancaster Moor, so recently chosen as a place of sepulture, was employed for a like purpose by our forefathers at the dawn of the bronze period. A number of workmen are now busy in clearing away the earth overlying the sandstone a little to the south of the most elevated part of the people's recreation ground, and in so doing have uncovered a number of British funeral urns. These remains were met with at a depth of eight feet beneath the present surface of the ground, the upper six feet of which consist of broken stone recently brought from the quarry. Beneath this there is a stratum of dark vegetable soil, six inches in depth; and between this soil and the sandstone rock, ordinary drift deposit and marl. The sepulchral vessels were placed two feet below the surface of the soil, in pairs, at intervals of a yard, in a long line extending east and west.

One of them was enclosed by four flags placed upright, so as to form a box, and covered with a flag at the top, the space between the urn and the flags being filled with ashes. Several of the urns were deposited in the soil without any fencing, their mouths being simply covered with pieces of flag. The "bone-pots" vary from nine inches and a half to eleven inches and a half in height, and average about seven inches in breadth. They are hand-made, of half-baked clay, in which pounded gravel is mixed, and differ much in decoration and finish. Some of them are entirely without ornament, thick and clumsy; others most painstakingly embellished, and fine in their fabric. They are all wide-mouthed, with deep collars, and flat at the bottom. The elegant urns figured 1 and 2, plate 7, were found placed side by side, a thick flag nearly two feet square between them, and another heavy flag resting on the uprights, so as to cover the mouths of both vessels. The pattern on fig. 1 is well designed: the spiral lines running in opposite directions produce a pretty effect, and were made by indenting the soft clay with fine twisted strips of skin; the other decorations were wrought with some blunt-pointed tool. This urn contained an unburnt bone from the head of a fish,¹ and the bronze blade of an arrow or dart about two inches and one-eighth long, with a rivet-hole in its broad tang, which for form and age may be compared with the head of the *colp* or *picell* found at Winwick, and engraved in the *Journal* (xvi, 296). The companion urn (fig. 2) has its collar decorated with a herring-bone pattern bordered above and below with lines running round the vessel. The superior half of the body is adorned with a lattice-design with a band of dots beneath. This urn is one of the smallest of the series, measuring but nine inches and a half in height, and in it were deposited the bones of a female.

The urn (fig. 3) is characteristically decorated with small circles made by screwing round a pithy stick in the soft clay. The rim of this specimen is flat, and ornamented in the same manner as the collar and body.

Fig. 4 is a very singular urn, having a trellice-pattern bordered with dots impressed on the collar, and diagonal bands of dots on the body.

¹ Mr. Bateman, in his *Ten Years' Diggings* (i, pp. 90, 275), mentions finding the lower jaw of a trout at Monsal Dale, Derbyshire, and the bone of a large fish at Pickering, Yorkshire, both interments belonging to the stone period.

1



2



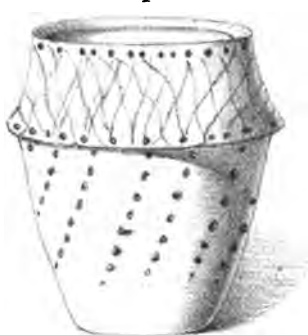
7



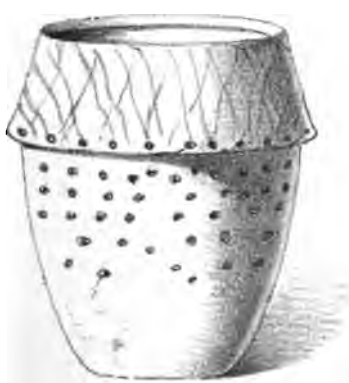
3



4



5



6



The urn next in order (fig. 5) measures eleven inches and a half in height. It is of clumsy make, and faintly decorated on the collar with a lattice-pattern, and on the body with round markings.

The last sepulchral urn (fig. 6) is quite plain, and in contour differs little from other examples obtained from this locality. It is eleven inches in height, and contained the bones of a muscular man in larger fragments than those found in the other vessels. In it was also a bone of an uncertain animal, and portions of pins wrought of deer's horn. Two of the pieces are perforated, to permit them to be hung to the garment, like the cloak-bodkins of the New Zealanders.

Fig. 7 is what is generally called an incense-cup, and has two holes on one side of its lower part, as if for suspension, but possibly to permit a current of air to reach some substance placed in the vessel for burning. It is about three inches diameter, fabricated of fine clay without gravel; and in this respect agrees with the incense-cup found in other parts of England.¹

These several vessels, from their imperfect firing, are much broken; and the heavy flags, in most instances merely supported by the surrounding soil over them, may also have helped to crush them. At the eastern extremity of the barrows the land inclines steeply towards the Asylum ground. The urns in this part of the barrows, with their contents, were so much decayed, probably on account of the free drainage, as scarcely to be recognisable.

I may add that in one of the urns were found the remains of the bronze blade of a spear or dagger of the same description as those given in the *Journal* (x, 164; xiv, 330, fig. 5). It was broken up and divided by the workmen, under the idea of its being gold.

With regard to the human bones, it may be observed that they indicate a small type, the portions of the skulls being fine and thin. They are calcined, in small fragments, and with them are mingled ashes and little stones; but as yet it is somewhat remarkable that I have not met with any teeth.

¹ Mr. Cuming has an eastern incense-vase of fine red terra-cotta, slightly exceeding the above cup in diameter; but the base of which slopes off in a precisely similar way, and is perforated in the same manner. It fits into a cup-formed stand with open stem, in which the flame was kindled for heating the perfume. The British incense-cup would appear to have been supported on stands, so that a flame could be placed beneath them.

ON THE ROUND TOWERS OF CHURCHES IN EAST ANGLIA.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

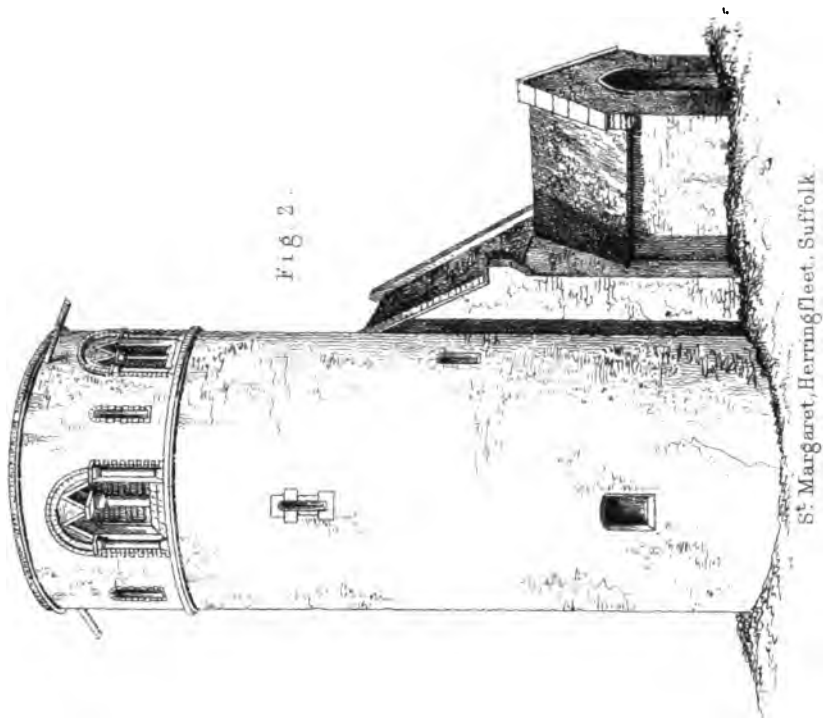
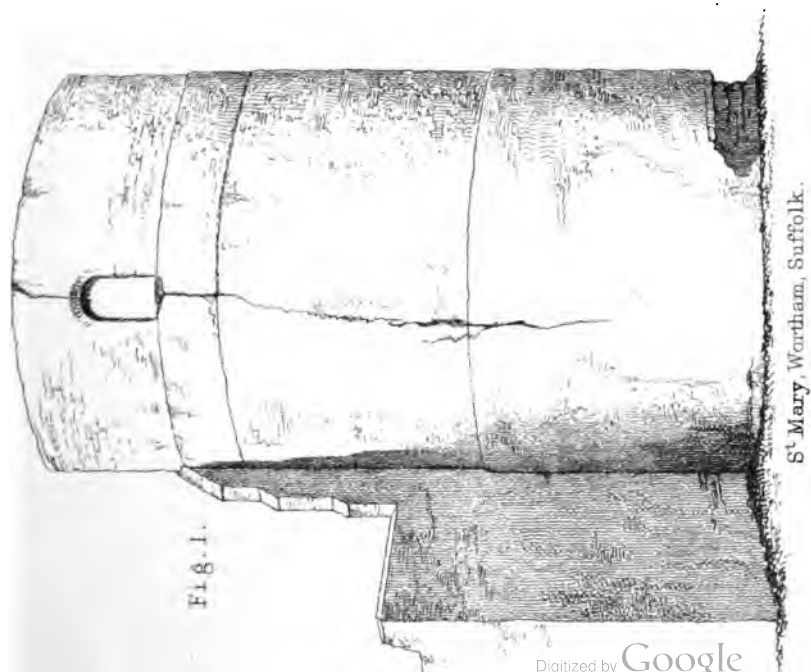
WITH the exception of eight detached instances, of which two are in Berkshire, two in Sussex, one in Surrey, two in Essex, and one in Northamptonshire, the whole of this class of towers exists in the east of England, and coincides exactly with the limits of the Saxon kingdom of East Anglia;¹ and although I am not about to suggest that, because these towers are all within those limits, they are therefore of the Saxon æra, yet it may be that some national influence had been exercised upon these buildings by the descent of customs from the earlier to the later inhabitants; and the rarity of similar towers elsewhere, even though similar materials abound, and other materials are equally scarce, would lead to some such belief.

It has been remarked by Mr. John Gage,² that the materials of which these towers are constructed are local: that is so. But it is equally true of almost every mediæval work, except in the important ornamental stones, such as Caen stone (for which the Normans appear to have had a reverence) and Purbeck and other hard, coloured marbles, in the earlier stages of Pointed architecture. There is, however, from the paucity of building stone in these counties, a singular exception, for all the early castellated and other large buildings have an almost universal use of stone from Barnak in Northamptonshire for the ashlar work. Its earliest use, however, so far as my own observation leads me, was about the year 1150 or 1160; and from its absence in these towers, and the churches to which they belong, some conclusions may be drawn.

These towers, in some cases, are built entirely of flints, in others of flints mingled with the sepia stone. In some there are slight indications of the courses being laid herring-bone fashion, but no more inducing me to consider them Saxon than would the flints in modern walls, which are frequently

¹ They are, however, mainly in Suffolk and Norfolk, there being but two in Cambridgeshire.

² *Archæologia*, xxiii, 7.



laid at opposite inclinations. In all there are about one hundred and seventy-five of these circular towers in England, namely, one hundred and twenty-five in Norfolk, forty in Suffolk, and ten in other counties. I have prepared probably a nearly complete list of them, including some which have been destroyed, marking with an asterisk those which I have visited, and with a dagger those illustrated by Mr. Gage, by the Norfolk and Suffolk Archæological Society, and Mr. Suckling.¹

In SURREY : *Lower Tooting.

In NORTHAMPTONSHIRE : Stanwick.

In SUSSEX : †Piddinghoe; South Ease.

In BERKSHIRE : †*Welford;² †*West Shefford.

In ESSEX : †Great Leighs; South Ockendon.

In CAMBRIDGESHIRE : †*Bartlow; Snailwell.

In SUFFOLK : Aldham, St. Mary; †*Ashby, St. Mary; *Barsham, Holy Trinity; Bayton;³ †Belton; †Blundeston, St. Mary; *Bradfield (*detached*); †Bradwell, St. Nicholas; *Bramfield, St. Andrew (*detached*); Brome, St. Mary; Bruisyard, St. Peter; *Bungay, Holy Trinity; †*Burgh; †*Fritton, St. Edmund; Frostenden, All Saints; *Gisleham, Holy Trinity; *Gunton, St. Peter; *Hasketon, St. Andrew; *Hengrave; †*Herringfleet, St. Margaret; †Holton, St. Mary; *Ilketshal, St. Margaret; Little Bradley, All Saints; †*Little Saxham, St. Nicholas; *Lound, St. John Baptist; *Mettingham, All Saints; †Mutford, St. Andrew; Rickingham Inferior, St. Mary; †*Risby, St. Giles; †*Rushmere, St. Michael; *Southelmham, All Saints; Stuston, All Saints; Syleham, St. Mary; *Theberton, St. Peter; Thornham Parva; *Thorningham, St. Peter; *Thornington, St. Peter; Weybread, St. Andrew; *Wissett, St. Andrew; *Wortham, St. Mary.

In NORFOLK : Acle, St. Edmund; Appleton, St. Mary (*a ruin*); Aslacton, St. Michael; Asmanhaugh, St. Swithin (*rebuilt* 1842); Aylmerton, St. John Baptist; Barmer, All Saints; Bawburgh, St. Mary and St. Wolstan; Bedingham, St. Andrew; Beechamwell, St. Mary; Beeston, St. Lawrence; Bessingham, St. Mary; Bexwell, St. Mary; Brampton, St. Peter; Brandeston, St. Nicholas; *Brecles, St. Margaret; Briston, All Saints (*taken down* 1724); Brooke, St. Peter; Buckenham (Old), All Saints; Burgh (*ruin*); Burlingham,

¹ *Hist. Suffol.* ² See *Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 242, for remarks on this church.

³ Where the dedications do not appear, it is in some cases because the churches are disused and ruinous, and I have been unable to ascertain the dedications.

⁴ Suckling, *Hist. Suffol.*

St. Peter; Burnham Deep Dale, St. Mary; Burnham Norton, St. Margaret; Bylaugh, Virg. Mary; Catton, St. Margaret; Chippesby, St. Peter (*ruin*); Cockley Cley, All Saints; Colney, St. Andrew; Cranwick, St. Mary (*said to be of the time of Harold*); Croxton, All Saints (*reconstructed in 1826 of the same materials*); Dilham, St. Nicholas; *Earl Framingham, St. Andrew; Eccles, St. Mary; Edingthorpe, All Saints; Feltwell, St. Nicholas; Fishley, St. Mary; Forncett, St. Peter; Freethorpe, All Saints; Fritton, St. Catharine; Gayton Thorpe, St. Mary (*with dome*); Geldeston, St. Michael; Gissing, St. Mary; Gresham, All Saints; †Haddiscoe, St. Mary; Hales, St. Margaret; Hardley, St. Margaret; Hardwick, St. Margaret; Hautbois (Great), St. Theobald; Haveringland, St. Peter (*a ruin*); Heckenham, St. Gregory; Hemblington, All Saints; Hillington, St. John Baptist; Horsey-next-the-Sea, All Saints; *Howe, St. Mary; Ingworth, St. Lawrence (*said to be of the time of Rufus,—fell in 1822*); Intwood, All Saints; Keswick, All Saints (*a ruin*); Kilverstone; *Kirby Beadon, St. Mary (*a ruin*); Kirby Cane, All Saints; Letheringsett, St. Andrew; Lexham (East), St. Andrew; (West), St. Nicholas; Mautby, SS. Peter and Paul; Matlaske, St. Peter; *Merton, St. Peter; Morning Thorpe, St. John Baptist; Morton, St. Margaret; Moulton, St. Mary; Needham, St. Peter; †Norton Subcourse, St. Margaret; Norwich, *St. Benedict, *St. Ethelred, *St. Julian (*said to be founded before the Conquest*), *St. Mary Coslany, *St. Paul; Pickenham, All Saints; Plumstead, St. Gervase; *Poringland (Great), All Saints; Potter, St. Nicholas; Quiddenham, St. Andrew; Raveningham, St. Andrew); Repps, St. Peter; Ringstead (Great), St. Peter (*church taken down 1771*); *Rockland, St. Peter; Rollesby, St. George; Roughton, St. Mary; Roydon, St. Remigius; Runhall, All Saints; Rushall, Virgin Mary; Ryburgh Magna, St. Andrew; Sedgford, St. Mary; Seething, St. Margaret; Shereford, St. Nicholas; Shimpling, St. George; *Snoring (Little), St. Andrew (*detached*); Somerton (West), St. Mary; *Stanford, All Saints; Stockton, St. Michael (*with a spire*); Stody, St. Mary; Stratton, St. Mary (*short spire,—church said to have been rebuilt 1330*); Surlingham, St. Mary; Sustead, SS. Peter and Paul; Swainsthorpe, St. Peter; Syderstone, St. Mary; †Taseburgh, Virgin Mary (*said to have been rebuilt in 1380*); Taverham, St. Edmund; †Thorpe next Haddiscoe, St. Matthias; †Thorpe

Abbots, All Saints; *Thrextton, All Saints; Thwaite, All Saints; Titchwell, St. Mary; Topcroft, St. Margaret; Tuttington, SS. Peter and Paul; Wacton, All Saints; Walton (East), St. Mary; *Watton, St. Mary; Welborne, All Saints; West Dereham, St. Andrew; Wickmere, St. Andrew; Whitlingham, St. Andrew (*ruin*); Witton, St. Margaret; Woodton, All Saints; Worthing, St. Margaret; Wrampingham, SS. Peter and Paul; Yaxham, St. Peter.

Octagon towers are not included.

I have more particularly gone through the dedications, because, had there appeared Saxon or Danish saints among them, it would have led me to make some research into those particular cases in order to ascertain if there had been earlier buildings to account for the popular belief in their Danish or Saxon origin. The dedications appear to be as follow: thirty-six to the Virgin Mary, twenty-eight to All Saints, seventeen to St. Andrew, thirteen to St. Margaret, nineteen to St. Peter, eight to St. Nicholas, four to St. John the Baptist, four to Holy Trinity, four to St. Michael, four to SS. Peter and Paul, two to St. Lawrence; and one or two each to St. Gervase, St. Giles, St. Edmund, St. Catharine, St. George, St. Remigius, St. Julian, St. Benedict, St. Gregory, St. Ethelred, St. Matthias, St. Theobald, St. Swithin and St. Wolstan.

These are those in Norfolk and Suffolk, the others being in most respects very dissimilar. I have made illustrations of many of these towers, but one or two will serve as examples of the whole. I therefore give views of the largest, Wortham in Norfolk (see plate 8, fig. 1); and one of the more peculiar, Herringfleet in Suffolk (fig. 2).

Several local and other writers have hazarded conjectures on the subject of the dates of construction. Britton considered them Danish, and all writers up to Mr. Gage's time appear to have entertained no other opinion.

Until within forty years of the present time, all early round-arched work was called either Danish or Saxon. Mr. Rickman, in 1824, first attempted to promulgate the truth; but in doing so ran to the opposite extreme, and refused to believe in anything earlier than Norman. A more critical and exact study has since prevailed, and I believe we are now nearly approaching the real chronology of these works by a rigid comparison of records with the remains in existence.

We have seen how these towers came to be considered as Danish or Saxon. In 1829 Mr. Gage, then Director of the Society of Antiquaries, endeavoured to dispel that popular delusion as regards these towers, which Mr. Rickman had been doing a few years before as regards mediæval architecture in general. In a clear and perspicuous paper he disposes of that part of the subject; and I have nothing to object to, nor to add to that communication, which has been printed;¹ but further observations and increased means of forming a judgment enable me to supplement that account. I have found that these towers, though varying from 7 feet 7 inches, internal diameter (Mettingham), to 19 feet (Wortham), have walls about 4 feet and 4 feet 6 inches thick,² with only one entrance, namely at the east, and therefore from the body of the church. The windows, where they remain unaltered, are either small circular eyelets³ or narrow loop-holes, with plain semicircular arched heads pierced out of the stone, and mostly with chamfered edges. Other windows have been inserted at every age since; and also, with few exceptions, either the churches have been rebuilt, or have been attached to the towers. The upper stages also, or parapets, have been rebuilt, mostly octagonal. In only one instance, that of Fritton in Suffolk, have I found what I believe to be the type (nearly complete, though enlarged by aisles) of all these buildings; though the tower is not remarkable except for its dilapidation, the severe cracks being merely filled up with cement. The church has a nave and chancel of early form, 51 feet long internally, and 11 feet wide. This has since been widened to 21 feet; but the original was but 11 feet, as stated. The east end is apsidal, and very perfect. It has been recently restored with some care. One peculiarity exists here; and, so far as I know, only in one or two other churches. It is the "tapering" of the plan from west to east.⁴ The chancel itself is vaulted, and also diminishes in height towards the east.

All the other churches are equally simple parish churches such as were common in the Norman period.⁵

¹ *Archæologia*, xxiii, pp. 7-17.

² Hengrave is an exception, having very thin walls; but it has been rebuilt, as is said, in the fourteenth century.

³ Earl Framingham and Howe.

⁴ Framingham Earl has a tapering chancel.

⁵ St. Mary Coslany, Norwich, is perhaps the only exception; but as that church was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, it does not affect the assertion.

The illustration of Wortham Church (plate 8) is not given for any other peculiarity than its magnitude, and for the sets-off. The other is of Herringfleet, and given as being more than usually remarkable; for in this instance we have a tower which, in its whole height, appears to have more of the original than others. It has the Norman billet-molding, as well as a centre-shaft to the window of the upper part. This window would in many cases be termed Saxon, even in the present day; but how a Saxon upper story, such as this, could have been placed on a purely Norman substructure, I am not prepared to say. There are instances, it is true, of earlier work with later work both beneath it and surmounting it. St. Mary's, Leicester, has the nave of Norman work pierced below with twelfth century arcades, and with still later walling over the Norman;¹ but a circular flint tower can scarcely have been underpinned in the same manner as a plain wall could be.

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are these:

1. That in most cases the churches have been destroyed or rebuilt, while the towers have remained.

2. That the towers were probably built by one class (or lodge) of workmen, and are all of nearly one age. They have precisely the same characteristics—similar in material, shape, and (with one exception) size; and are without staircases.

3. That they were built for use as bell-towers.

4. That they were erected about 1100 to 1150. If they were of earlier date,—and no doubt there is very great difficulty in determining their date from the mere walling,—I should have no hesitation in saying that all the towers had been originally detached, and that churches had been built against them; and also that *all* the principal openings had been made subsequently to their first erection. I cannot say that I incline to this theory; but I see no alternative than to adopt one or the other of these views. I think I have given the correct explanation; but as rubble flint-work shows no marks of age, it is just possible that some of the towers may be of earlier date, without showing it, than that at which I have placed them; but in that case they must have been subjected to the several variations and additions I have named, and this I do not think probable to that extent.

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xix, p. 247, for a detailed description.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 75.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10.

THE day's proceedings commenced by an excursion to Colchester, to which a special train gave great facility. A large party quitted Ipswich at half-past 9 A.M., and were met at the Colchester station, and conducted to the Town Hall, where they were received by Major Bishop, the Mayor, together with the Corporation, the Members of Parliament for the county and borough, numerous individuals of importance in the neighbourhood, and a large attendance of the clergy, including the Ven. Archdeacon of Sudbury, Lord Arthur Hervey; the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, Secretary to the Essex Archæological Society; the Rev. C. Merivale, Chaplain to the House of Commons; Rev. H. R. Somers Smith, Rev. R. B. Mayor, Rev. R. S. Cummins, Rev. E. Ewen, etc. J. G. Rebow, Esq., High Steward; P. O. Papillon, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Bree, Dr. Wallace, etc., were also present.

In the Council Chamber were displayed the silver-gilt mace, the grace-cup, and other *regalia* belonging to the Corporation; and the Mayor having taken the chair, begged, in the name of the Corporation, to offer to the President and members of the British Archæological Association a most hearty welcome to their ancient town,—one which presented a large field for archæological research as regarded Roman, Saxon, and Norman remains; and he trusted the meeting would prove one of great gratification to all present.

Geo. Tomline, Esq., M.P., as President of the Association, acknowledged the kindness of the Mayor and Corporation; after which the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne read a paper, "On the Population and Taxation of Colchester, taken for collecting a Quindime in the Twenty-Ninth Year of the Reign of Edward I" (1301), which will be printed *in extenso* in the next *Journal*.

The Mayor having announced that luncheon had been prepared at

the Town Hall, for the Association, at three o'clock, the party proceeded, under the guidance of the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen and the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, to make inspection of the antiquities of Colchester.

They proceeded first to the Balcerne or Balkon Hill and Gate, which Mr. Hartshorne regarded as one of the most perfect specimens of Roman building, consisting of alternate layers of brick and masonry, in Colchester, and perhaps in England. He described the construction of the building and the old Guard House, the walls of which are still standing to a considerable height; whilst there are also considerable remains of the tunnel-like gateway leading inside the walls. Mr. Hartshorne pointed out a peculiarity in the construction of the wall, in having four courses of ashlar, or cement stone, alternated by four courses of Roman brick. At Lincoln the courses were arranged in threes. The general number, however, was two; including the castles of Silchester, Rochester, Dover, Pevensey, etc. After leaving the Balkon Gate,¹ the party walked outside the walls, which are also good specimens of Roman building, to the old Norman Castle, in the library of which they assembled.

Mr. Hartshorne read a paper upon the Castle. The keep in which they were assembled, and which was all that remained, was formerly surrounded by a fosse, which might be the work of the Romans, or of a much later period. The admixture of Roman bricks with flint stone gave the building a singular effect. The tower was octagonal in shape, and from its irregularity of construction it had a rough and dilapidated appearance. It was clear the Castle was erected before the year 1130, and he inferred that the keep was complete in the year 1170; and in 1180 he believed the whole building to have been finished, as it appeared that it then required reparation. The doorway seemed to be of a later period than the building itself. The Castle was memorable for two assaults which it underwent in the fifteenth century. Colchester Castle was never of the same altitude as other Norman castles in England. Though the keep was larger, it was not so great a height: the vaulting was also greater than usual. It had been said by a recent writer² that the Castle was Roman, and the chapel dedicated to Claudius; but he was certain, from the character of the building, that no portion of it could be attributed to a period earlier than the Norman conquest, though the materials were old Roman bricks and flint with stone facings; and

¹ Since the holding of the Congress, a fine specimen of tessellated pavement has been discovered at this spot, the particulars of which, together with a drawing, have been kindly transmitted to the Association. An account will be given in the *Proceedings* for the 22nd of March.

² The Rev. Mr. Jenkins, an associate of our body, whose absence, from advanced age and infirmities, was much regretted by the members. Mr. Jenkins's pamphlet, *Colchester Castle*, was published in 1861 by Russell Smith of Soho-square.

Mr. Hartshorne expressed his belief that it was erected in the reign of Henry I, and in support of this opinion he adduced historical evidence. The paper by Mr. Hartshorne had been drawn up with the greatest possible care, and the several particulars elaborately discussed. It will appear *in extenso* in the next *Journal* of the Association.

After the reading, a discussion took place relating principally to the employment of Roman tiles in Norman buildings, between Mr. Gordon Hills, Mr. Geo. Godwin, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Thomas Wright, Lord A. Hervey, and others.

The Museum and the vaults underneath the Castle were then visited. The latter are very extensive; and after exploring them the party walked round the Castle and through the grounds of Mrs. Round, and thence to the picturesque and in part ivy-covered ruins of St. Botolph's Abbey, where Mr. Roberts gave an outline of the history of the Abbey. It was founded, in the beginning of the twelfth century, by a monk named Inulph, who was the first prior; and the work of the remains was of about that date. Besides the ruins of the church, but little trace of the monastery remains; and he regretted that excavations had not been made, and the extent of the buildings ascertained by this means. It was said, although the assertion was disputed, that this was the first abbey inhabited by the Capuchins. The dimensions of the remains of the church are about a hundred feet in length and twenty-six feet in width, besides aisles. There appeared to have been two towers at the west end. The principal feature in the ruins are the massive Norman round columns, which, as is the case with almost the whole of the remains, are constructed of old Roman bricks, or imitations of them. The west front is a beautiful example of the architecture of the period and of interlacing arches. The centre doorway is exceedingly handsome, and immediately over this door are indications of a wheel-window.

The next place visited was St. John's Abbey Gate. This is the sole remnant of the once famous and powerful Abbey of St. John, which was founded in 1095 or 1096; but the works progressed very slowly, and it was not finished until 1120. The gateway, however, as it now stands, is evidently of a later period, is in the Perpendicular style, and built of flint faced with stone. There are the remains of what must have been a handsome stone niche on either side of the door, and there is a pinnacle on each side. Mr. Roberts, who read a paper on the Abbey, said the Gate was built in the very latest period of the existence of the Abbey, and probably quite at the end of the fifteenth century.

At St. Giles', a plain old church, there was nothing to be seen but the stone in memory of "the two most valiant captains, Sir Chas. Lucas and Sir George Lisle, Knights, who, for their eminent loyalty to their sovereign, were, on the 28th day of August 1648, by the command of Sir Thos. Fairfax, then general of the Parliamentary army, in cold

blood barbarously murdered." Sir C. Lucas and Sir G. Lisle held Colchester Castle against General Fairfax, and when the Castle was taken they were shot.

Holy Trinity Church was next visited, the entire interest of which is centred in the tower, which by some has been thought to be Saxon. Mr. Roberts addressed the company on the tower, and said he did not partake in that opinion, for it has every characteristic of a Norman tower built with old Roman materials. The point which had been chiefly relied upon to prove that it was Saxon, was a Pointed doorway in the west wall of the tower, made entirely of Roman bricks.

Mr. Godwin observed that he could see no reason whatever why the arch, which was not so much Pointed as a straight-lined arch, was not a Saxon arch. It was either very early Norman or Saxon, and he did not see why it should not just as well have been built before as after the Conquest.

Mr. Roberts observed that there was no mention of the church in *Domesday Book*. He did not mean to say positively that it was not Saxon; but he would say it was either Saxon or Norman, although his opinion was that it was Norman.

This was the last place visited before the company adjourned to the Town Hall, in the Assembly Room, in which a very handsome collation was provided by the Corporation. The chair was taken by the Mayor (Major Bishop), who was supported by the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey; G. Tomline, Esq., M.P.; J. C. Cobbold, Esq., M.P.; P. O. Papillon, Esq., M.P.; J. G. Rebow, Esq., High Steward; the Mayor of Ipswich (G. C. E. Bacon, Esq.); Dr. Bree; E. Grimswade, Esq.; Rev. J. H. Pollexfen; W. S. Yarrington, Esq.; W. Brown, Esq.; Dr. Drummond, etc. The Mayor proposed the health of the President of the British Archæological Association (Mr. Tomline), and success to the Association. He thanked the Association for the honour they had done Colchester in visiting it. He believed it was their first visit; but he hoped it would not be the last.

Mr. Tomline said he was sure that he rose to express the unanimous opinion of the members of the Association present, and of those unhappy members who were absent, when he thanked the Mayor and Corporation, and the town of Colchester at large, for the hearty reception they had given them.

Mr. J. C. Cobbold, M.P., said, next to the President of the Archæological Association they would expect to have brought before them the name of the Mayor of Colchester. He knew well the estimation in which the Mayor was held at Colchester, and he also felt sure that the members of the British Archæological Association from this time would also hold him in high estimation for the great hospitality he had shown

them. He proposed "The health of the Mayor and Corporation of Colchester," to which the Mayor appropriately responded.

Mr. Pettigrew said he rose to invite the assembly to do that which he knew would be most acceptable not only to every member of the British Archæological Association, but to every visitor who had had the gratification of joining them upon this occasion. He availed himself of the privilege of his position in the Association to call attention to one of the advantages arising from meetings of this nature, and from excursions having for their object the illustration of the history of the country by the examination of its antiquities. It had been his good fortune for twenty-one years to experience this advantage in various counties of England. The assembling of a congress, however, was not a project originating in this country. It was of French origin; and following out a plan adopted by a gentleman in Normandy, that the British Archæological Association resolved to hold a congress in 1844 in the city of Canterbury. These meetings had not only tended to their own enlightenment individually in carrying out their pursuits, but they had, by assembling in different parts, brought the members in communication with other bodies and individuals with like feelings, engaged in similar pursuits, and all actuated by the same most laudable motives. On no occasion, he was sure, had the British Archæological Association been more highly gratified than on the present; enhanced, as it was, by meeting with the venerable and noble President of the Bury and Suffolk Institute. They not only felt greatly indebted for the kind manner in which his Lordship, as President of that body, had invited all the members of his Local Society to meet the Association on the occasion of their visit to Bury St. Edmunds, and also in calling upon those members to render assistance, and to afford opportunities for investigation in whatever part they might assemble; but they had had, besides that, the great advantage of his Lordship's presence during their examination. It must be highly gratifying to the worthy Mayor and the inhabitants of this town, equally so with those belonging to their body, to have had the honour of Lord Arthur Hervey's attendance to-day; and he begged, therefore, to offer their best thanks for the great courtesy he had extended to them, and to propose "The health of Lord Arthur Hervey," coupling it with "Success to the Bury and Suffolk Institute."

The Ven. Archdeacon Lord A. Hervey responded, observing that he must look upon the present meeting as the most interesting and instructive he had ever attended. They might go through all England, and not find a more interesting field than Colchester. As he went round those old walls he felt surprised at himself that he had lived so many years within a couple of hours of Colchester, and never been round them before. He did not, however, regret that he had not

seen the antiquities of Colchester till that day, as he had had the opportunity of hearing them so ably commented upon; and he begged to propose "The health of those gentlemen who had read the able papers they had listened to," connecting with the toast especially the name of the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne.

Mr. Hartshorne returned thanks in his usual felicitous manner.

Mr. Roberts also acknowledged the toast, observing that Colchester had been very far from exhausted that day. He expressed his desire that some steps should be taken for obtaining a plan of the Abbey Church of St. John and the Abbey of St. Botolph.

The Mayor proposed "The health of the Permanent President of the Association, Mr. Pettigrew."

Mr. Pettigrew said he did not lay any claim to be President or Permanent President of the Association, though he had long been a Vice-President and Treasurer of the Association. He spoke of the value of the proceedings of the British Archæological Association in verifying history; and he might say that, in their annual Congresses held in one or another part of the country, they had done good service to the cause of antiquity.

The members then withdrew, and returned to Ipswich, where in the evening a meeting was held in the great Council Chamber, the President in the chair.

After some observations upon the interesting proceedings of the day, and the kind reception the Association had received at Colchester, and some remarks on the work of restoration going on in that town, Mr. Roberts, with reference to the tower of the Church of the Holy Trinity, said he feared he had not made himself fully understood. He firmly believed it to be a Norman tower: he saw nothing in it to induce him to believe that it was Saxon, or any portion of it, and that there was nothing inconsistent with Norman work.

Mr. Hartshorne confessed that he formerly regarded the tower as Saxon; but since he had heard Mr. Roberts's remarks, and looked at the tower immediately after leaving the Castle, he was prepared to express his decided opinion in favour of its Norman character.

Mr. T. Wright said that, with reference to Colchester Castle, he doubted much if the bricks used in building it were Roman. We have plenty of instances of old churches, in the neighbourhood of Roman stations or villas, in which great quantities of Roman materials may be traced; but the material is always thrown in in rough masses,—stone, mortar, and brick together,—just as it had been broken from the Roman ruins. Here the bricks or tiles had been put in clean, and apparently fresh, and they had been arranged in imitation of the Roman style of building. Any one who has attempted to get a whole brick out of Roman masonry, knows how much labour and time it requires;

and what would it be to obtain many hundreds of them? Moreover, when a mediæval castle was built, it was necessary to get it completed as quickly as possible; and they would hardly wait till they had collected a sufficient quantity of old materials. There can be no doubt that the Saxons and Normans made bricks; and he was inclined to believe that those used in Colchester Castle were Norman. The same, probably, might be said of the bricks in the ruined walls of the old Priory church. There were other parallel cases, such as that of the early church in Dover Castle, and of the more imposing church of St. Albans; in which also the bricks may be Saxon in the one, and Norman in the other. The latter is a case especially in point. Matthew Paris, in his lives of the abbots of St. Albans, tells us how the eighth and ninth abbots, Ealdred and Ealmar, spent the whole of the period they successively held their office in breaking up the masonry of the ancient Roman buildings of Verulamium to obtain stones and bricks for building, which they stored up in the intention that at some future period these materials should be used in the erection of a new church. The last of these two abbots had not collected materials enough for his purpose when he died, and was succeeded by Abbot Alfric, whose election took place about the commencement of the eleventh century. It was a time at which England was suffering fearfully from war, and consequent famine; and Leofric in his compassion for the misery with which he was surrounded, sold the building materials which had been collected by his predecessors, and distributed the money among the poor. During the times of several succeeding abbots we have no allusion to any attempts to collect building materials from the ruins of Verulamium. This period, indeed, witnessed the ravages of Danish invasions and the Norman conquest. At length, we are informed by Matthew Paris that Paul, the first Norman abbot, who was elected by the influence of Lanfranc in the year 1077, rebuilt the church and other edifices "out of the stones and tiles of the ancient city of Verulamium" and other materials collected and preserved by his predecessors. This itself is quite contrary to the previous statement that these materials had been sold by Leofric some three quarters of a century before, and with the circumstance that none of the abbots who came after Leofric are pretended to have collected any more materials; and we are led to suppose that if Paul did use any Roman materials in his buildings, they were only pieces of old masonry for the rougher work, as we find them employed in many old churches. This point can be only cleared up by a careful examination of the present building. But be it as it may, the whole story shews that nobody at that time imagined that sufficient materials for the church could be collected from the Roman ruins easily and quickly.

Mr. Philipps was struck with the enormous quantity of the tile-bricks

to be found in Colchester, and questioned whether so large a quantity could be obtained from the ruins of the old Roman city. He was disposed to concur in Mr. Wright's opinion.

Mr. Roberts thought there were bricks in the Castle to which Roman mortar was found adhering.

Mr. Hartshorne thought it highly probable that there was an admixture of Norman and Roman bricks.

The subject was then adjourned, and the President called upon Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A., to read his paper, "On the MS. Song-Book of an Ipswich Minstrel of the Fifteenth Century." He said the late Mr. Fitch of Ipswich had some years ago a MS. of songs and carols, apparently of the age of Henry VI, and which probably constituted the minstrel's stock in trade. This MS. book was found in the municipal records of the borough of Ipswich; and it being thought that it had no business there, it was taken away. Mr. Fitch gave it to him (Mr. Wright); but being persuaded that Mr. Fitch did so in ignorance of its real worth, he insisted on returning it, and it was now in a private collection. It was a very valuable MS.: indeed, he knew of but one similar, which was in the British Museum, and was far inferior to this. This had been published by the Percy Society. Mr. Wright having traced the history of mimers and minstrels from the earliest ages to the mediæval *jougleurs* or *jonglers*, as they were erroneously called, and minstrels, proceeded to give an account of the book in question. The little volume of the Ipswich minstrel contained good examples of how the minstrels catered for the public taste. There were a few Bacchanalian songs written in alternate lines of English and Latin, one of which was in praise of the vine, another rather ludicrously described the effect of strong ale, a third was as follows—

"Bryng us in no browne bred, fore that is made of brane,
Nor bryng us in no whyt bred, for therin is no game;
But bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no befe, for ther is many bonys (bones),
But bryng us in good ale, for that goth downe at onys (once);
And bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no bacon, for that is passing fate,
But bryng us in good ale, and gyfe us i-nough of that;
And bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no mutton, for that is often lene,
Nor bryng us in no trypes, for thei be syldom clene;
But bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us no eggs, for ther ar many schelles,
But bryng us in good ale, and gyf us no(th)yng ellys;
And bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no butter, for therin ar many berys (hairs),
Nor bryng us in no pygges flesch, for that wyl mak us borys;
But bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no podynges, for therin is al Godes good,
Nor bryng us in no venesen, for that is not for owr blod;
But bryng us in good ale.

"Bryng us in no capons flesch, for that is ofte der, [mer (mire);
Nor bryng us in no dokes (duck's) flesch, for thei slober in the
But bryng us in good ale."

There were no less than a dozen songs satirising the gentler sex, who were therein described as anything but gentle. One of these Mr. Wright read. It was a description of a drinking bout by a company of women, and gave no little amusement to the audience. Mr. Wright also quoted from several other songs.

Mr. Roberts read a paper by Mr. Raphael Brandon, "On the Timber Roofs of the Churches of Suffolk." The description of roofs chiefly dealt with was hammer-beam roofs, many of which were to be found in the county; and one description, double hammer-beam roofs, was peculiar to Suffolk; one of the finest specimens being that of St. Margaret, Ipswich, visited by the Association.

The proceedings for the next day were then announced; and thanks being voted to the President, the meeting adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUG. 11.

The Association quitted Ipswich by special train at 10 A.M., going direct to Framlingham. It had been arranged to have previously visited Parham and Bruisyard; but the impossibility of obtaining carriage conveyance, without which these places could not be visited, compelled an alteration in the arrangement. Arriving at Framlingham, the party proceeded directly to the Castle; a large ground-plan of which had been prepared by Mr. R. M. Phipson, as it appeared in former days, exhibiting the outworks and the connexion of the fosse with the mere on the west side of the Castle. The defences consisted of an outer and an inner moat; the latter running close to the walls, except on the west side, where the broad expanse of the mere was probably regarded as affording sufficient protection. The outer wall is all that remains of the ancient building, the Castle having been dismantled by the order of Sir Robert Hitcham in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Phipson read a brief paper explanatory of the history and of the interior arrangement of the Castle. Mr. Phipson is positive that a castle had existed at Framlingham from a very early period. He gave a brief description of the early accounts, which pointed to the existence

of a castle at Framlingham from the latter part of the sixth century, and its occupation by Redwald, king of the East Angles. He considered it probable that the old Saxon castle was destroyed by King Henry II at the same time that the castles of Walton and Bungay were destroyed, and he quoted various accounts of wages paid expressly for the destruction of the Castle. Besides this, Camden and Grote both affirmed that the Castle was destroyed ; and the walls themselves, on a close examination, were equally decisive on the point. Upon a close examination of the remains of the building, nothing appeared of an older date than the Norman architecture. There was good reason to believe that the present Castle was built soon after the destruction of the old one. Various orders connected with the building and repairs of the Castle from that time till it came into the possession of the dukes of Norfolk, from whom it passed, at the rebellion of the fourth duke, to Queen Elizabeth and James I, are in existence. The latter, in 1623, restored it to James Lord Howard ; and at his death it was sold to Sir R. Hitcham, who bequeathed it for charitable purposes ; and ordered that it should be dismantled, and the materials sold. This was most effectually done, and the Castle was left in much the same state as it now appears.

Mr. Phipson then, by the aid of the plan, pointed out the probable disposition of the space inside the walls ; from which it appeared that the sill of the chapel was on the right of a person entering by the main gateway, and that the dining-hall joined it. The capacious opening for the fireplace of the dining-hall is still visible, and the circular chimney-shaft is in good preservation. Mr. Phipson places the buttery and other offices immediately behind the dining-hall and the stables, of which no traces remain, close together.

The party next examined the outside of the walls, and gave some attention to the barbican, which was probably erected in the time of Henry VIII. The work is somewhat dilapidated, and the outer arch is partly fallen ; but the seats for the warders are still visible, and in good preservation. Several small passages in the walls caused some speculation as to the object with which they were made. These passages run in many different directions ; and the conclusion generally come to regarding them was, that some were connected with a rude system of ventilation of the guard-rooms in the upper part of the towers, and that others were made by the bond-timber wrought into the walls : indeed, in many places timber in a decayed state has been taken out of the apertures, and the general appearance of those which run in a lateral direction fully bears out this view. The beautiful brick chimneys upon the towers were critically examined ; and it was generally agreed that the ornamental bricks were not moulded, but cut into the elaborate pattern they are made to assume. It is probable that the

bricks were cut before they were built, and that this device was hit upon to avoid the difficulty of moulding an elaborate pattern.

After making a circuit of the outer walls, the party returned to the courtyard of the Castle, where Mr. Hartshorne made a few observations, generally endorsing the conclusions Mr. Phipson had come to. He was of opinion that the whole of the upper portion of the building was built upon old foundations. Entries upon the Court Rolls of the Exchequer proved that the Castle was built about 1170. The greatest changes were probably made by the dukes of Norfolk, who built the church in the reign of Henry VIII; and it was probably at that period that nearly all the walls above the present surface were built. The different periods at which different portions of the building were built, were shown by the character of the stone used in the walls. In the earlier portions Varnack stone was used, the later alterations were in Caen stone; and the use of the latter material conclusively proved the comparatively recent character of the work. Mr. Hartshorne said he was of opinion that there had been a keep to the Castle, and that it stood in the south-west angle.

From Framlingham Castle the party proceeded on a visit to the Rev. E. C. Alston, M.A., rector of Donnington, who entertained the Association at an elegant luncheon arranged in two rooms at the Rectory. Proper acknowledgments having been made by the President to the kind host and hostess for their obliging attention, the party proceeded to view Donnington Church and its monuments. This is one of the finest parish churches in Suffolk. It is very spacious, and beautifully kept. Mr. Phipson read a paper describing the church. The wood benches with which part of the church is seated, are among the finest specimens of wood-carving in England. There are two chapels at the east end of the aisles, separated from the screens, in the Perpendicular style. These screens are painted, and are in excellent preservation. In the chapel on the south side is a handsome monument to Sir William Bardolph and his lady, Joan; the former of whom died in 1439, and the latter in 1445. Their effigies are upon the top of the tomb, and in excellent preservation. Mr. Planché gave a description of the armorial bearings on the tomb, and the costume of these figures. A representation of the monument may also be seen in Mr. Pettigrew's "Memoir on the House of Gournay," printed in the Second Part of vol. ii of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, published by the Association.

The Rev. Mr. Alston read a short notice of the early history of the manor, and called the attention of archæologists to the meaning of the word *bortreming*, which he regarded as equivalent to 'a view of frankpledge,'—an interpretation which the party seemed disposed to regard as correct.

Preparations for departure were now commenced, to return to Fram-

lingham and inspect the church and monuments. The rector, the Rev. Geo. Attwood, M.A., kindly accompanied the Association over this recently cleaned church, and inspected its numerous memorials. The church presents a very imposing appearance, having a handsome quadrangular embattled tower supported at each angle with ornamented diagonal buttresses. It is of the fifteenth century, and of the Perpendicular style, being probably on the site of a former church mentioned in *Domesday* thus: "There is one church having sixty acres and one villan and four bordars and two ploughs, and is worth 15s. The tower is about a hundred feet in height, and formed of black flint and stone intermixed. A good general account may be found in Green's *Guide to Framlingham*. The Association had to regret the absence of this gentleman by a severe attack of illness with which he had been assailed; but invitation to his house was offered to the members, some of whom availed themselves of the opportunity there to inspect an ancient piece of carving of a coat of arms cut upon solid oak or chesnut, between seven and eight feet long; supposed to have been heretofore a fixture in the Castle, and intended to commemorate the marriage of John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk, with Elizabeth daughter of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, *circa* 1461.

The tombs in the church are very interesting, and are those of Sir Robert Hitcham, Knt.; Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk; and his wife, Lady Anne, fourth daughter of Edward IV; with their effigies. That of the duke has the garter collar of SS upon the breast, exhibiting twelve of the set of medallions, not with the rosettes; but upon each are carved one or two letters which regarded as composing words yield G. R. A. C. I. A. SV. Q. SV. M. (by the grace of God I am what I am). The figure of the duchess is on the right of the duke, she being of royal blood. Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, and the Lady Mary Howard his wife, without effigies; the Ladies Mary and Margaret, the two wives of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, without their effigies; Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard and the Lady Margaret, his second wife; and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and the Lady Frances his countess, with their effigies. After this inspection several of the party were refreshed with coffee, etc., at the new rectory house built in the Elizabethan style, and were most courteously entertained by the Rev. Mr. Attwood. A few of the members obtaining a vehicle, had paid a visit to Parham and Bruisyard; accounts of which, it is hoped, will be inserted in the *Journal*.

Taking the rail again at Framlingham, by the special train the party returned to Ipswich, where in the evening a meeting was held in the great Council Chamber, JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., occupying the chair; who, on opening the business, took occasion to caution the members against purchasing antiquities without a careful

inspection, and in cases of doubt without reference to some person competent to pronounce as to their being genuine. The Chairman related some amusing anecdotes to show that a large trade in antiquities was carried on both in England and on the Continent. In one case abroad, he was told by a lad who was manipulating some recently made medals in a bowl, that he was "making antiquities." The boy was, in fact, stirring newly-made medals in a bowl of acid to give them an appearance of antiquity. Statues were in some instances steeped in acid, for the same purpose of giving them an antique appearance.

Mr. E. Roberts read a paper, "On the Round Towers of Churches in East Anglia," illustrated by numerous sketches taken by himself. (See pp. 162-167 *ante*.)

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Phipson dissented from Mr. Roberts's opinion as to the limited range of the period within which they were constructed. He said the reason of towers being built round was that they could be built more substantially of that form with the materials of the district, and it avoided the necessity of having large building stones for the angles.

Several other members spoke on the subject, and reference was made to the round towers of Ireland; but Mr. Roberts explained that the latter were of far earlier date, and built for a different purpose than those of the churches in Suffolk; but with respect to the round towers of Ireland, Mr. Gordon Hills, who had for many years made a special study of the subject, and executed drawings of all the known specimens existing in different degrees of perfection, would describe them on the following evening.

Mr. Phipson then read a paper, "On a Heart-Burial at Holbrook Church, Suffolk, for which see pp. 140-144 *ante*. In the discussion that took place on the paper, reference was made to the practice, at the time of the Crusaders, of sending the hearts of those slain in battle to England, to be buried in their native land; and that the practice had given rise to the custom of burying hearts separate from the bodies in other cases.

The following paper was then read:

SUFFOLK EMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND IN 1634.

BY CLARENCE HOPPER, ESQ.

Two hundred and thirty years since, on the 4th of February 1634, the Commissary of Suffolk addressed a letter to Archbishop Laud deprecating the progress of nonconformity in that county, and the increasing tide of emigration setting sail for the western continent, as depopulating the parts about Ipswich. He draws therein a curious picture of the future founders of the new world, denouncing them as

the embarrassed and reckless debtor, or the malcontent antichurchman, who will seduce others from the mother country. Mr. Ward, the minister of Ipswich, and Mr. Dalton, parson of Wolverston, fall under the censure of the writer, who winds up by craftily requesting that the veil of secrecy may cover this information as regards the name of the informant. The story is better told by a *verbatim* copy of the letter *in extenso*, as follows :

LETTER FROM HENRY WADE, COMMISSARY OF SUFFOLK,
TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

“My humble dutie remembred, &c.

“I beseech your Grace not to repute it presumptive in me for to write unto your Grace, although I am altogether unknowne unto you ; for that the cause of my writing is not for my owne ends (but as I doe conceive for the good both of church and comonweale). Yt is to certifie your Grace that about the 10th of March two shippes, one of 200 tunne, and the other of ninescore, are to sayle from Ipswich with men and provisions for their abiding in New England ; in each of which shippes there are appointed to goe sixscore passengers (who I suppose are either indebted persons, or are discontented with the government of our Church); and as I heare as many more are expected not long after them to go as in altogether will amount to the number of 600 persons (but of this I have no grounde), who if they be suffered to goe in such swarmes out of this kingdome, it wilbe a decrease of the kinges majesties people here, an increase of the adversaries to the episcopall state, who from a pretended dislike of the ecclesiasticall state will make a colour to draw the kings subjects out of the land, and also will be an overthrowe of trade ; for that as soone as any one doe purpose to breake, or is become much indebted, he maye fly into New England, and be accompted a religious man for leaving of the kingdom because he cannot indure the ceremonies of the Church. Lastly, it maye abate the awfullness of the subjects of his majesty, for that they having of their owne country and religion, out of the king's dominions upon any discontent may fly to New England, from whence they cannot be avocated by reason of the largeness of that continent. And in every of these wayes I am perswaded that such libertie of transporting of people will much indamage this kingdom, except the plantations of New England shall suffer some great disaster ; for I am not of their myndes who thinke it not materiall how many of such persons shall goe out of this land, except they shall carry with them their breeders, of whom Mr. Ward of Ipswich is chief of our parts, who by preaching against the contents of the Book of Common Prayer and set prayer, and of a feare of altering our religion, hath caused (as I am perswaded) this giddiness in our neighbours about Ipswich to desire to go unto Newe England. And for Mr. Wards his such preaching, I had prepared articles for the High Commission, and had exhibited them to your Grace, but that I perceived that I must beare the brunt alone of such a prosecution, and thereby incurr and indure the hatred of his adherents, who are very potent in London and about Ipswich ; and thereupon I was contented to be taken of by my frendes, and to sett downe with credit. And to returne to the shipping over his majesties subjects,

being the cause of my writing, I am bold to offer to your Graces consideration whether it were fitting for to move for an order at the counsel table to send for Mr. Dalton (who is otherwise an honest man), parson of Wolverstone by Ipswich, and is a great stickler for the transporting of these people that should go into New England, that the said Mr. Daulton may be inhibited further meddling in the aforesaid busines, and the voyage to be stayed; and for Mr. Wards his preaching, and for bringing the people into a better conceit of the Church government, which is needfull, I leave it to your Grace and to our Lord Diocesan to consider what is expedient therein to be done; for it is a worke for a superior to undertake, and ought not long to be deferred for very conformity of a minister, howsoever otherwise able and pious, is enough to make a man odious amongst the people about Ipswich. And I humble crave favour of your Grace, whose report maketh me verilie to believe that you are full of goodnes and secrecie, that for as much as the ends of my writing is in waye of service to the State, to the Church, and your Grace, that you would not take this signification in ill part, nor discover me to my Lord of Norwich; but that rather, when your Grace shall write or speake to him, that you would be pleased to certifie him that your Grace doth heare that about Ipswich conformitie is odious, that sett prayer is preached downe, and the Booke of Common Prayer disreputed, by preaching, and that fewe of qualitie spared in sermons; and all these are made knowne to your commissarie of Ipswich, and yet concealed by hym for feare that if the Puritans were stirred by him that they would let out his corruptions to the viewe of the world; or in some other waye that maye make it unlikelie to be my complaint, as to your Grace shalbe thought best. And that you would be pleased to add also that, because his lordships inferior officer doth nothing about such busines, his lordship would inquire of the truth of this complaynt, and to cause what is wanting from a totall and ubiquturn conformitie to be amended. And so praying of your Grace for a good construction of my service in these premises, which is the more to be respected for that I have promissed and have payd part of *xxli.* per annum out of my private estate, to continue a very worthy and conformable man within the towne of Ipswich.

"Thus with all observances remembered unto your Grace, I rest your Graces most humbly devoted

"Ipswich. 4 Feb. 1633.

"HENRY WADE,
Commissary of Suffolk."

The various proceedings with regard to Samuel Ward, B.D., appear in the records of the acts of the Court of High Commission. The articles alleged against him do not appear to be extant; but are to the effect that while publicly preaching on the 22nd day of December 1633, in the church of St. Mary Tower in Ipswich, "he did affirm and say that the using of set forms of prayers was a confining of the spirit, and would trouble a man to carry a 'porteise, or manner of set forms of prayer, for every occasion, thereby scandalizing the Book of Common Prayer by authority set forth, etc. Also that at the same time and place he used words to this effect, that there was no life to quicken either hearer or speaker in reading of an homily or prayer, though penned

never so elegantly, as there was by praying and preaching by the spirit."

The answers, however, to the articles objected against him in the Court of High Commission are preserved amongst the State Papers under date of 19 December, 1634; from which we learn that he had been a minister in Ipswich for thirty years; that he held as his opinion that prayers both in and out of the ritual were lawful, that he could not abide popish histrionical gesticulations, etc. He alludes to his sermon at Ipswich declaring that upon some cases put unto him by some of those that affected to go beyond the seas unto New England, and upon some misreports made, that he (Ward) was not of Tertullian's rigid opinion, but of our late learned archbishop's milder judgment concerning the lawfulness of flight in persecution, yet rather commended such as stayed in their native country and mother church, which he thought and said to be the most flourishing national kingdom and church in the world, not knowing what God would incline and enable himself to do in case of trial, if any such should happen. And further, in the same sermon used these words, that he was "not of soe melancholy a spirit, nor looked through soe black spectacles, as he that wrote that religion stands on the tiptoe in this land looking westwards, nor feared their fear that feared an imminent departure of the Gospel."

In reply to one of the articles he declares that, having heard a report in the town of Ipswich, scattered by the New Englanders and others, that six or seven ministers in Gloucestershire, and twelve or thirteen in the diocese of Winchester, and some others in other shires, were suspended, he said that if six or seven lights in one place, and twelve or fourteen in another, were like to be eclipsed, as some there present reported, it might be a sign of God's displeasure.

It would be curious to trace the result of these proceedings; but the matter would be of too great length to be comprehended within the limits of this brief paper.

Mr. Read observed that the emigrants had settled in the state of Massachusetts, where they founded a town they called Ipswich, and prospered so well that the superabundant population made an offshoot also into the same state, and founded the town of New Ipswich. Danie Webster, the celebrated senator of the United States, was a descendant from the Ipswich emigrants of 1634.

The meeting then adjourned.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

(Continued from p. 90.)

FEBRUARY 8.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

R. M. Phipson, Esq., of Norwich, was elected an associate.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Institute. Archæological Journal. No. 83. 8vo.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 71. 8vo.

To the Author. Médaille du Comte Jean de Tilly, par le Baron B. de Koehne. Belge, 1864. 8vo.

To Mr. Pettigrew. Catalogue of the Stone Implements in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum. Salisbury, 1865. 8vo.

Mr. Wm. Powell exhibited two beautiful busts in white marble, found at Pompeii, Vesta and Jupiter ; the latter being a miniature likeness of the colossal bust from Hadrian's villa, presented to the British Museum by the late Barber Beaumont, Esq.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze statuette, supposed to be of Venus, two inches and three-quarters in height. The hands are crossed on the top of the head, the upper part of the figure is nude, and the drapery covering the lower part of the body is upheld by a belt. The figure is very elegant, and was obtained by Mr. Goldsmid from Herculaneum.

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew exhibited a very finely chased silver-gilt *étui*, the figures Watteau-like illustrations of music and dancing ; a *bonbonnière* exquisitely enamelled inside and out with most tasteful design ; an enamel portrait, said to be of Shakespeare (probably by Bone), set in a French silver frame ornamented with turquoises and globules of bone ; also a large brooch of silver-gilt, having for the centre ornament a fine head of Moorish character. Around, among pendants and other kinds of ornamentation, are pearls and large turquoises. These appear

to be of the character known to jewellers as of *turquoise de nouvelle roche*, and are either of bone or shells, in form resembling a cowrie. This beautiful object has unfortunately suffered from fire. It was considered to be Italian workmanship; and was obtained at Brussels by a lady of rank, who, however, could give no particulars of its history.

Dr. J. Wake Smart transmitted a sketch of a curious little glass bottle in his possession. It is of a greenish hue oxidised with an iridescent film. In shape it is somewhat quadrangular, with the angles rounded off, the neck expanding into a trumpet-mouth. It is one inch and a quarter high, and three inches round the body; and was found, with another of similar figure, in lowering the floor of the Grammar School at Wellingborough, Northampton. These bottles occurred in company with some human bones, suggesting the idea of a sepulchral deposit; which probably was the case, as the school abuts on the churchyard, and may indeed have been built on a portion of it. Dr. Smart was not aware that it was ever customary in mediæval times, in this country, to inter vials of unguents or incense with the bodies of the dead. There are abundant records of the blood of martyrs enclosed in vials; and we hear also of the so-called lachrymatory of the Roman age. It may be, therefore, that these little bottles possess a significance deserving some elucidation. There was found at the same time and place a piece of window-glass about two inches square, one surface much eroded, the other painted with the outline of an oak-leaf in yellow. The glass itself is of a greenish hue, and one-fifth of an inch thick.

Mr. Cuming remarked that Dr. Smart's account of the glass-quarry would lead to the belief that it was the work of the commencement of the sixteenth century, and he strongly suspected that the bottles brought to light at the same time and place could not be referred to an earlier period. The form of these vessels brings to mind the little bottle found at Newport, Isle of Wight, engraved in this *Journal* (viii, 324). Small greenish glass bottles like those exhumed at Wellingborough have been discovered in London; but as yet their exact age is undetermined, though there cannot be a doubt of their mediæval origin.

Mr. Cuming exhibited two glass bottles, the smaller measuring nearly one inch and three quarters high, and three inches and a half in girth, much like the above, save that the body is not angular; the other three inches and a half high, and full one inch and five-eighths diameter at the base, of conic form, with short cylindrical neck and flattened rim. They were found in September 1845, built into a chalk wall in Wood-street, Cheapside; and which wall, it is thought, was part of the church of St. Peter, erected at the close of the fifteenth century, and destroyed in the great fire of 1666. Though these several bottles may have been made for domestic use, still their occurrence

with bones at Wellingborough, and in a church wall in London, suggest their employment for mortuary purposes.

Mr. George de Wilde of Northampton made the following communication, addressed to the Treasurer :

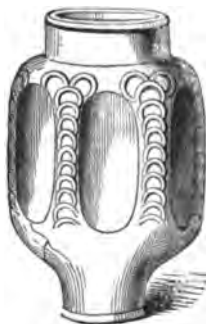
ROMAN REMAINS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

BY G. J. DE WILDE, ESQ.

I was yesterday at Towcester, a small town on the Watling-street. Towcester is the *Lactodorum* of the Antonine *Iter*, and, as might be expected, fertile in evidences of the occupation of our Roman ancestors. Coins innumerable, fragments of the Castor pottery and Samian ware, turn up with remarkable frequency. In the autumn of 1859, in digging the foundations of a new house on the site of an inn called the "Old Bell" (the successor of one mentioned in an enfeoffment as "Le Bell" in 1473), a beautiful little terra-cotta lamp (see cut annexed) was found, three inches and a half from handle to burner, as fresh in appearance as it came from the hands of the maker. The potter's name, *PORTIS*, crosses the circle at the bottom ; and Mr. C. Roach Smith gives the same name as occurring on lamps found in London. With the lamp was found a fine coin of Vespasian. *Rev.*, a female figure holding in her right hand a patera over an altar ; on her left an olive branch and caduceus, *PAX . AVG . S . C.*



Within a short distance from Towcester a new railway is now in course of construction, and in cutting through a hill called "Clay Hill" numerous fragments of Romano-British pottery have been found, and some of Samian ware.¹ Among the former is a vase nearly perfect, about six inches in height, made of a buff-coloured clay tinted with that peculiar blueish grey which is, I believe, admitted to have been produced by means of the smother-kiln. This vase will be found similar to one much more perfect found at Castor, where there existed a large pottery. The representation of this vase, already given in vol i. of our *Journal*, accompanying a paper by Mr. Charles Roach Smith, as discovered by Mr. Artia, is so precise a fac-simile of that of which I now send a sketch, as to render another cut superfluous. The grey tint on the Towcester specimen has been rubbed off



¹ The specimens are in the possession of Mr. S. C. Tite of Towcester, who has watched the excavations in his neighbourhood with great attention.

from the edges of the pattern, making the outline very conspicuous. Another fragment has the sides less regularly compressed, as if with the ball of the thumb; and the ornamentation is simply of lines formed by slight upright marks with some pointed tool. This fragment is of the same material, and coloured in the same way with the same grey tint. A third fragment represents the neck and handle of a small jar-like vessel of a fine pale yellow ware. Its peculiarity is that it has a neck above the brim, giving it at first sight the appearance of being a corked vessel.

There are innumerable fragments of both these kinds of ware, which, however, are fragments only. A noticeable bit of Samian ware is a considerable portion of a small bowl, bearing within, at the centre of the bottom, the potter's mark, LVPINI . M. The name occurs in the list given by Mr. C. R. Smith, of Samian ware found in London.

Within a stone's throw of the spot at Towcester where these antiquities have been obtained, on the site of some old cottages, was found one of those antiquarian puzzles which have been set down as lamp-stands by some, but as generally believed to be cattle-shoes by others. Mr. Roach Smith has gone at some length into the question, and his conclusion is in favour of the latter interpretation. They have been found, he tells us, in London, at Stony Stratford, at Springhead near Gravesend, at Blackwater in Essex, at Autun, at Dijon, and other localities in France. "The most reasonable explanation," he says,¹ "that has been suggested, is that they were used for temporary purposes for the feet of horses and oxen, either in the case of disease or excessive tenderness, or in journeys where the roads were particularly bad. Supposing they were so used, they were probably lined with leather or wool, and bound round the hoofs and legs with straps. When Catullus (xvii, 25) speaks of a mule leaving its iron *solea*, or shoe, in the mud—

"in gravi derelinquere ceno,

Ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula,'—

it is certain he could not have meant a shoe fixed to the foot with nails, but a shoe not permanently bound on; and, from the context, one apparently used for soft or quaggy land. At the present day, in Holland it is usual to bind long flat iron shoes to the horses' feet. They are fastened with a strap of leather, and are somewhat in the form of an ordinary horseshoe, but much longer and wider; and, did we not know they are commonly used, would seem almost as unsuitable as the iron shoes under consideration."² The figure given in the *Illustrations of Roman London* differs somewhat from the specimen found at Towcester, but the general conformation and the size are about the same.

¹ Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities collected by C. R. Smith.

² *Illustrations of Roman London.*

Mr. C. R. Smith and the Abbé Cochet have figured an example from Evreux, the form of which bears a stronger resemblance to an ordinary shoe. The ears or side-wings belonging to it have, however, rings attached to them, and the swan-like neck is wanting.

Notwithstanding the plausible argument and the general appearance of the object in immediate question, Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., still sets it down as a lamp-stand; but a later and most excellent authority settles the point. The Abbé Cochet, Inspector of the Historical and Religious Monuments of the Lower Seine, has just published a valuable and extended account of the antiquities in his department,¹ and among the numerous interesting objects represented are to be found five specimens of what he denominates "hipposandales en fer," found at Saint Saiens, Vieil-Evreux, Remennecourt, Scrupt, etc. The Abbé speaks of their rarity, but states his having seen one at Archelles near Argues, and Caudebec lès Elbenf, the ancient *Uggate*. He has given an extended note of reference to all specimens with which he has any acquaintance; and among these the most interesting, as really settling the question in regard to the purpose for which they were employed, is the discovery of no less than four examples *on the feet of the skeleton of a horse* in the Roman ruins of the Grange (Canton de Vaud),—a bit of intelligence communicated to the Abbé by M. Troyon.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., forwarded a paper, "On the Ancient Walls of the Castle of Southampton," together with notices of various ancient buildings and houses in that town having vaulted cellars, interesting carvings, etc. He also transmitted an ancient map of Southampton, supposed to be unique, and lately presented to the Hartley Institute by the Corporation, amongst whose records it has been lying between two and three centuries. A zincograph of this has been made by Colonel Sir Edward James, R.E., and will accompany the paper, to be printed *in extenso* in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the meeting a fine gutta-percha impression of the seal of Colchester. The matrix is of brass, and the obverse presents the figure of St. Helena holding the cross, seated in the centre, beneath a canopy. Below are the arms of the town, and on either side of her those of England. The reverse appears to represent one of the ancient gates of Colchester.² Around the legend reads: "† Sigillū commune ballivorū : † et communitatis ville dom'i regis Colcestrie intravit ihē in quoddam castellum et mulier quædam extrepit illum."

¹ La Seine Inférieure Historique et Archéologique. Paris, 1864. 4to.

² A plate of this fine seal is given in Cromwell's *History of Colchester*, p. 400. Lond., 1826.

FEBRUARY 22.

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman read the following letter addressed to him by the Treasurer on the lamented decease of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G., which was ordered to be inserted in the *Journal*; and the thanks of the meeting were, upon the motion of Dr. James Copland, F.R.S., V.P., seconded by Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., voted to Mr. Pettigrew for his attention. In addition to this communication, Mr. Godwin made several observations in illustration of the knowledge, zeal, and kindness of the late Duke, which had fallen under his own observation.

"Onslow Crescent, South Kensington.

"Feb. 22, 1865.

"MY DEAR MR. GODWIN,

"The state of my health preventing my attendance at the meeting of the British Archæological Association this evening, I have to request that you will communicate to the Association assembled the melancholy intelligence of the decease of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G., etc., which occurred on the 12th inst. at Alnwick Castle.

"It is but little more than a fortnight since I had the honour to receive the permission of His Grace to make whatever use I pleased of him in the promotion of the object of our proposed Congress at Durham in the month of August next; and of which he had consented to be one of the patrons, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Cleveland. In his decease we have indeed deeply to lament the loss of a most able archæologist; one to whom we have frequently been indebted for acts of kindness and for presents, particularly to our library, of an able survey of the Roman Wall and other remains in the north of England; and a descriptive catalogue, by Rear-Admiral Smyth, of a cabinet of Roman family coins belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, and preserved at Alnwick Castle.

"At a late visit to His Grace by our highly esteemed associate, the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, the Duke, with his usual kindness and intelligence, entered warmly into all our intended researches; and it was, therefore, with great pleasure we looked forward to the honour of meeting His Grace, and profiting by his example and knowledge.

"By his death, SCIENCE has lost an ardent student; ANTIQUITIES and the ARTS, a most enlightened cultivator; LETTERS and LITERATURE in general, a zealous friend and supporter. But in that which more especially regards the MORAL INDIVIDUAL, and his perpetual exercises as the

friend of the poor and needy, it were difficult to employ terms sufficiently cogent to express what we must all so sensibly feel.

“ Believe me yours most truly

“ T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.,
“ V.P. and Treasurer British Arch. Association.

“ To GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.,

“ V.P. of the Association.”

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To Dr. Lee, V.P., and Admiral Smyth. Sidereal Chromatics. By Admiral Smyth. Lond., 1864. 8vo. (Privately printed.)

To the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society. The Annual Report for 1863-64. Leeds. 8vo.

“ „ Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the W. R. of Yorkshire. 1863-64. Leeds. 8vo.

“ „ On the Early History of Leeds. A Lecture by Thos. Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Leeds, 1864. 8vo.

To the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Notices on the Life and Writings of Carl Christian Rafn, Permanent Secretary of the Society. By Laurent Etienne Borring. Copenhagen, 1864. 8vo.

The preceding “ Notices ” was accompanied by a letter to the Association announcing the demise of the Secretary, who was a Corresponding Member of the British Archaeological Association. A letter of condolence from the Association was directed to be sent to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

The following communication, intended for the Ipswich Congress, was read :

ACCOUNT OF SAXON COINS FOUND AT IPSWICH.

BY E. S. FRANCIS, ESQ.

On Saturday, the 24th October, 1863, one of the workmen employed in excavating at the corner formed by the Old Butter Market and the White Hart-lane, Ipswich, discovered, at the depth of ten or twelve feet from the surface, a roundish mass, which proved to be a hoard of Saxon silver coin ; the greater portion of which, however, was unfortunately in such a state of oxidisation as to render them valueless, breaking at the slightest touch. After much trouble I have ascertained there could not have been less than six hundred coins in the mass ; but not more than about two hundred were in a perfect state ; and the greater part of these I have had the pleasure of passing into the cabinets of distinguished numismatists. After inquiries, and an examination of the spot, I ascertained the mass had been found in the midst of rubbish ; which at the time induced me to think they had been disturbed

on some former occasion, but subsequently I came to a different conclusion, and am now of opinion that the spot was the site either of the mint or of the treasury, or some place selected for the safe custody of the royal revenue. And the arguments I adduce are simply these, viz., the coins are all of one monarch, Ethelred II. They evidently had never been in circulation, which was clearly seen by the coins in the centre of the mass, which were as fresh as at the moment of being struck; and they had certainly been subject to the action of fire, some of them being in a half-fused state.

Several pieces of burnt wood, portions of beams, were likewise found, and quantities of charcoal mixed with the *débris*.

From the scanty materials existing of the early history of Ipswich, it appears that the Danes attacked the Saxons at or near Ipswich in 991 and 1010; and on the latter occasion they levied a fine of £10,000 on the inhabitants (*vide* Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*). Twice, it is recorded, they destroyed the ramparts, and partially destroyed the town by fire.

I humbly suggest this hoard of coins might have been part of the moneys accumulated here for satisfying the rapacious demands of the Danes; and I think this at once accounts for the many mints and names of moneyers which are found on these coins, as it can hardly be conceived that any single mint could have supplied so large a sum.

Besides those bearing the name of Ipswich, which formed the greater portion, there were also Bath, Bedford, Cambridge, Canterbury, London, Lymne, Norwich, Rochester, Southampton, Stamford, Sudbury, Thetford, Worcester, and York, with many variations; and there were upwards of thirty names of moneyers, a list of which, with some highly interesting remarks on the subject, will be found in the last part of the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Mr. Evans.

The coins were all of Ethelred II; and, with two or three exceptions, all of one type (Ruding, xxii, fig. 9), with the hand of Providence on the reverse. Two, however, had the head to the left, like Ruding, pl. D, 35. All had the characters A and W on either side of the hand; but in several instances these characters were reversed in their position. In some few the letters of the legends were beautifully formed, presenting a great contrast to other coins of that period.

Small fragments of urns were also found in the *débris*, but too small to form any conclusion respecting them. A bronze bracelet and a bronze spoon were also found a few feet distant. A small glass patera was also found at a depth of three or four feet, now in the possession of Mr. Whincopp of Woodbridge, which that gentleman considers to be Roman. Other articles were also turned up; but, I am sorry to say, were dispersed. Three or four holes were discovered, about two feet in diameter, of considerable depth, and filled with charcoal, ashes, and refuse.

Mr. J. T. Irvine laid before the Association drawings of some interesting remains in Wiltshire, appertaining to Bradford-on-Avon Church. They represent portions of a curious Saxon or early Norman work, one portion of which has been used as a lintel, and built in over the door of the south porch, which is of Perpendicular date. The pattern on the stone is like to Welsh work, or what is found on the Scottish side after crossing Northumberland, rather than in the south. It may be described as consisting of wide bands of interlaced strap-work surrounding panels; one being filled with strap-work, the other with a chequered or diaper design, presenting somewhat of the arrangement common in the early tessellated pavements.

Another drawing represents the upper half of the recumbent figure of a lady, of the close of the reign of Edward I or the early part of that of Edward II. This has also been appropriated to another purpose, having been used as an ashlar-stone in the south porch wall. The colours with which it has originally been adorned continue tolerably fresh; but their material is extremely friable. The mattress on which the effigy reclines is panelled in red, whilst the cushion supporting the head is decorated in blue lines. The white wimple or gorget which covers the neck is drawn up over the head, leaving a triangular opening for the face, similar to a monument in Worcester Cathedral, figured in Mr. Planché's paper on horn-shaped head-dresses.¹ The lady's hair is enclosed in a golden net-caul. The only parts of the kirtle exhibited are the blue sleeves, the body being covered by a red super-tunic. The hands are upraised as in prayer. Altogether this is an interesting example of the polychromic sculpture of the first quarter of the fourteenth century; but we have to regret that the name of the person to whom it relates is unknown.

The font in Bradford Church, a drawing of which was also exhibited, displays late Perpendicular work, and has, therefore, little of novelty. It is octagonal, the panels being occupied by various objects, among which we recognise a shield, a rose, a quatrefoil, two kinds of frets, etc. The shaft is sculptured in niches, in which also are shields and rosettes.

Mr. Irvine also called attention to a modern instance of "palimpsest," as it has been usual to term it. It is copper, and is in Steeple Ashton Church, and curious for its late date. Mr. Irvine states that, on visiting the church he found the tablet loose, and was permitted by the rector to have it cleaned. Copies were taken of both sides before being refixed, for the portfolio of the Association. On the upper part of the monumental face are engraved a skull and cross-bones, placed on a scroll dividing the words *MEMENTO MORI*; and beneath is the following, in five lines: "To the memory, of—Deborah Marks—who departed this life—the 8th day of March, 1730—aged 99." The reverse of the tablet

¹ Journal, vol. v, p. 68, fig. 13.

shows that it has constituted, and been employed as, a copper-plate for printing, as on the top is part of an inscription reading "and the Devil overbailenced by the Bible." In the middle of the plate is the half of a balance, the scale borne down by the Holy Bible. Beneath the beam are three labels, the first two no doubt, like the last, proceeding from the mouths of figures. They severally read, ".....ge hell, and fetch more weight..... shall be ruined quite"—"If we do not hall our church will fall"—"Burn y^e heretick book." On the left side of the scale are a group of four figures, a crowned and robed queen holding a sword, a sovereign or noble wearing a spiked or eastern crown or coronet, and two mitred bishops. In the background is a building inscribed "The Church of Eng...." Beneath are the following :

"Who are all resolved to maintain our rights
Against the French Pope, Divill, and all their mights;
Therefore, good subjects, all with one accord
Honour and praise and magnifye the Lord,
Who hath preserv'd our gracious Queen to be
From Popery a means to set us free."

("Sold by S. Farley in Wine-street, Bristoll.")

This minute description of the plate has been given in the hope that it may lead to the production of an impression taken before the copper was divided to be employed as a sepulchral tablet. The style of the coarse engraving, taken in connexion with the date of Deborah Marks's death, in 1730, would lead one to infer the figures represented to be those of William and Mary (1689-94), as in the latter year Queen Mary died in the month of December of the small-pox.

Mr. Irvine adds that, in Steeple Ashton Church there still remain some interesting fragments of stained glass bearing the initials of the Longs of Wraxhall.

Mr. Gunston exhibited several sacred vessels and *signacula*, accompanied by the following observations :

SACRED VESSELS AND SIGNACULA RECENTLY FOUND IN LONDON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

I have been permitted by Mr. Gunston to select from his rich collection¹ of religious baubles a few which are of special novelty, differing much in many respects from any hitherto laid before us,² and therefore deserving of particular remark.

We are familiar with the little brooches bearing the bust of St.

¹ Since the exhibition of these antiquities, they have passed into the possession of the Corporation of London, and are now arranged in the Guildhall Museum.

² For those already described, see *Journal*, i, 200; iii, 126; vi, 125; viii, 363; xii, 264; xix, 94; xx, 274, 343.

Thomas a Becket, his full-length effigy, seated, standing, and on horse-back, and the "*Canterbury Bells*" inscribed with his name; but the first objects which now demand notice are two shrines, or shrine-formed vessels, of unusual character, which in all probability held portions of his reputed corporeal remains. (Plate 9, figs. 1, 2.) They were found on the site of the Steelyard, Upper Thames-street; and, like all the other items submitted, are of lead, or rather pewter. Each of these little shrines exhibit on their fronts the martyrdom of St. Thomas, much in the same way as it is exhibited on enamelled *feretra*¹ and in wall-paintings;² Hugh de Morville, as usual, having his sword but partly drawn, the archbishop falling towards his assailants, and Edward Grim standing behind with the cross-staff. Both shrines have at one end the Crucifixion, at the other the effigy of St. Thomas in full pontificals, giving the blessing with his right hand, and holding his crozier in his left. The reverse of the smaller shrine displays a simple arcade; but on the larger the arches are occupied by three figures: the middle one a crowned and sceptred female; on her right a mitred bishop holding a crozier towards her; and on the left a bare-headed ecclesiastic raising his hands as if in surprise. If the lady be the Virgin, it may be regarded as a representation of the ivory image which Becket offered to the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster;³ the dexter figure being St. Thomas himself, the sinister his chaplain and confessor, Robert, the canon of Merton, or the faithful Edward Grim. This explanation is not very satisfactory; nor can much be pleaded for a second, viz. that the female is Bertha, wife of St. Ethelbert, to whom the see of Canterbury owed so much; the mitred bishop being St. Augustine, and the other ecclesiastic the queen's confessor, Luidhard, bishop of Senlis. A little cross surmounts the gable ends of the roof of each shrine; and a mouth rises like a tower from their centres, having a small loop-handle on each side, in the manner of some of the old costrells. The nasal helmets of the knights, and general treatment of the designs upon these rare objects, fix their date at the latter part of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. I have already expressed my opinion that the *ampulla* in the York Museum was intended to hold the diluted blood of St. Thomas,⁴ and these two shrines may have been employed for a like purpose; but I am inclined to think that they contained portions of his brains which, we are told by William Fitzstephen (308), were with his blood gathered up by Arnold and other monks, and afterwards preserved as relics; one part finding its way to the church of St. Bertin at St. Omer.⁵

Next in point of age to the foregoing shrines is an iconic vessel reco-

¹ See *Journal*, xiii, 213.

² *Ib.* x, 53.

³ Nichols's *Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury*, 170.

⁴ See *Journal*, xix, 95.

⁵ See Nichols's *Pilgrimages*, 228.



vered from the Thames, and representing St. Erasmus, the bishop, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian's persecution (A.D. 303); who, from some unexplained cause, was a great favourite in England during the middle ages, the 2nd of June being devoted to his festival, and his effigy introduced into many of our parish churches, as, for instance, at Buckenham, St. Nicholas, Norfolk; Lullingstone, Kent; Trinity Chapel in the church of Cirencester, etc. In the vessel before us (fig. 3) the bishop appears in rich pontificals, giving the blessing with his right hand, and supporting in his left a windlass, the emblem of his martyrdom, his bowels having been wound from his body by such an implement. The cruel way in which St. Erasmus was put to death seems to have suggested the idea of making him the guardian of the abdomen. Thus Melton, in his *Astrologaster* (p. 20), tells us, "St. Erasmus rules the belly with the entrayles, in the place of Libra and Scorpius"; and Barnabe Googe, in his translation of Naogeorgus's *Popish Kingdom* (London, 1570), says, "Erasmus heales the collike and the griping of the guttes." This curious iconic vessel, therefore, in all probability held some sovereign panacea for the relief of colic, in the first half of the fourteenth century.

We have noticed the equestrian effigies of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and have now to introduce one of St. Edward the Confessor, which was found no great distance from his place of sepulture at Westminster, being recovered from the Thames close to the new bridge, and probably dropped by some pious pilgrim who had just visited the royal shrine. (Fig. 4.) The king is represented full faced, with a beard, a crown on his head, a sceptre in his left hand, a large tippet covering his shoulders and chest, and his coat secured down the front with large buttons. The steed seems to have a cascabel attached to a neck-band, and beneath its hoofs is the word EDWARDE. The costume and style of art displayed in this *signum* points to the second half of the fourteenth century as its period of execution.

The concluding *signacula* both relate to personages mentioned in Holy Writ, viz. our Blessed Lord and St. John the Baptist. (Figs. 5, 6.) The first is represented as a nimbed infant, the face only being visible. The body is covered by a rich pall; so that the little effigy has much the aspect of some of the sepulchral slabs of the fourteenth century, to which period this singular badge belongs. It probably appertained to some relic or relics of the Nativity.

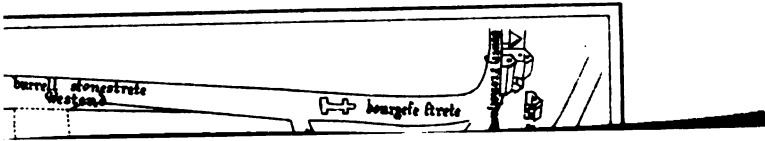
In our *Journal* (i, 203) is engraved a *signum* of the head of St. John the Baptist at Amiens; but this was not the only head of the saint that was to be seen. Sir John Maundevile (c. ix) says that in his time the hind part of the head of the Baptist was at Constantinople, and the fore part at Rome; and adds that "sum men seyn that the heed of Seynt John is at Amyas in Picardye; and other men seyn that the hee

heed of Seynt John the Bysschöp." But England was not surpassed by either Constantinople, Rome, or Amiens, for the "veritable head" of the Baptist was preserved in the church dedicated to his honour at Trimingham, Norfolk. The sign before us is not earlier than the end of the fourteenth century, and may be as late as the fifteenth, and was found in constructing the Thames embankment. It represents the saint in his hirsute garment, kneeling, with his hands tied to a tree. No head is shown; but in front of the figure is a formidable sword, and close to its hilt a hand. I think this sign more likely appertains to the *sword* at Avignon, which was reputed to have been the instrument of the saint's martyrdom, than to either of the *heads* here referred to. The relic may, indeed, have been worn as an amulet against *epilepsy*, which the French denominated *le mal de Saint Jean*, and which was long known in other lands as *morbus Sancti Johannis*, and the Baptist's aid was often invoked for the cure of the malady.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

WE beg to direct the attention of our associates to a forthcoming publication of value, under the editorship of Thomas North, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, entitled *A Chronicle of the Church of St. Martin, in Leicester, during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth; with some Account of its Minor Altars and Ancient Guilds*. It will be published by subscription, in fcap. 4to., in cloth antique, at £1 1s.; and a cheaper edition, on ordinary paper, at 10s. 6d. The profits are to be applied to the payment of the re-torations of the church, which have long been continued; and subscribers should send their names to Messrs. Crossley and Clarke, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester.

PL. 10.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1865.

ON THE CASTLE AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS AT SOUTHAMPTON.

BY THE REV. E. KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

THE purchase, by a builder, of a large portion of the Southampton Castle site, long used as a pleasure-garden by the late Mr. Maddison, and the threatened demolition of a considerable portion of the Castle ballium wall for building purposes, have lately excited public attention to the fortifications of Southampton. I therefore beg to lay before the Association a few particulars in reference to these fortifications, and more especially to the Castle. I am the more induced to undertake this as, in our survey of the antiquities of Southampton by the Association at its Congress in 1855, some of its interesting portions were necessarily, from want of time, less explored and commented on in the valuable account of the proceedings in the *Journal*¹ than their importance deserved.

The date of the erection of the fortifications of the town walls is lost in obscurity. Sir Henry Englefield, who took great pains in the investigation of their antiquity,² speaks of them as being early Norman, if not more ancient than the conquest.³ There are various other ancient buildings in Southampton marked on an ancient map of the town and its environs. This map was recently presented by the Corporation of Southampton to the Hartley Institute; and I am

¹ Vol. x, p. 321 *et seq.*

² *Walk through Southampton.*
1865

³ *Ib.*, p. 7.
27

informed by Charles Deacon, Esq., the town clerk, that it had been preserved in the Audit House, among the Corporation records, for between two hundred and three hundred years. At my request a reduced photograph of it was taken at the Ordnance Office, Southampton, by the kindness of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., and it has since been zincographed for us under his direction. (See plate 10.) The original drawing is about two feet and a half long by a foot and a half in breadth.

In the absence of definite testimony as to the origin of the map, we can only form a probable conjecture as to its date. For various reasons it may be considered as early as 1550; but at all events it may be regarded as not later than the latter half of the sixteenth century. Mr. John D. Smith, to whom, in drawing up these remarks, I am under much obligation, informs me that the present plan bears a great resemblance to the Irish maps recently reproduced at the Ordnance Office, especially as regards the shipping, the style of the woods, and also of the buildings; and these maps, he states, are understood to have been executed early in the reign of Elizabeth. That the plan of Southampton here presented to the Association was made subsequently to the reign of Henry VII is certain, as it contains the conventual buildings erected by that monarch; and also posterior to the dissolution of the monasteries in 1535, as it represents Netley Castle, built by Henry VIII out of the ruins of Netley Abbey. The map may be regarded as interesting to the archæologist and local historian, being not only a guide to the derivation of names; but also as to the site of buildings, many of which have long since disappeared.

In referring to the document, near the upper margin there is a cross called "Cuthorne Crosse." The name is still retained ("Cuthorne") in reference to an ancient mound close by,—possibly of ancient origin, as it borders on the Roman road called "Burgus Strete." It was on this mound that the municipal party who formerly "beat the bounds" were entertained at a dinner.

Entering the road called "Wynchester Waye" from Hampton, a common is found on either side, having a patch near the left hand portion. It was here the gallows used to stand, the last remains of which disappeared in making the reservoirs which now supply Southampton with water. From

indications still remaining on the original plan, it is probable that a gallows was intended to be shewn on this spot. The position of the land marked as common has little altered even at the present day. In making excavations remains have been found here, among others a variety of bronze celts.¹

At the town patch of common, on the left, there is a cross called "Myle's Crosse", possibly from being a mile from the next cross, called "Padwell Crosse." On the right hand, a little lower down, some buildings are given. These have a connexion with brick kilns. The remains of the pits, with the *débris* from the kilns, are still visible at the foot of an ancient oak now occupying this portion of land.

A little further down a block of buildings is shewn. This would be the convent erected by Henry VII.

Opposite is "Padwell Crosse," at the foot of which many skeletons (some of which were enclosed in wooden coffins) have been found. Roman coins have also been met with here, one of which (a Carausius) is in Mr. J. D. Smith's possession. The name, "Padwell," may be derived from "pad" (a path), and "well" from a large pond situated here, and filled up within the last fifteen years. A portion of the surrounding land is still called Padwell.

A little below this, the first houses forming the town commence, and another cross is shewn, "Houndwell Crosse," so called from the ancient conduit being situated near to this spot. The field close by is known at present as "Houndwell." At this well, tradition reports, the hounds of the Norman kings visiting Southampton for the purpose of the chase in the New Forest, which bordered on Southampton, were watered. These crosses were destroyed in the time of Cromwell.

"Cane Shote" is the name of a street on the left. The word "Cane" may probably bear reference to Canute, with whose name Southampton is so strongly identified, he having frequently visited it from Winchester, and having also here a residence. The land near at hand is still called "Kingsfield." "King John's Pond" was likewise near the shore in this neighbourhood, where it is said that the monarch watered his horses. The pond was destroyed in 1858, when the houses were erected on the western shore.

¹ See Sir H. Englefield's *Walk through Southampton*, note, p. 25. Bullar's edition.

Before entering into particulars with regard to the town itself, it will be desirable to notice the surrounding places and names. It is rather remarkable that the road called "St. Maries strete" is here really no street, as we now understand the term; but refers merely to a *road*. It joins "Portswood Strete," which anciently was the high-road to London, and is of British or Roman origin. The small bay on the right, where the ship is shown, is called at present "Crab Niton," a portion of which is now filled in at this point. There was here a British settlement, afterwards occupied by the Saxons, and where the large discovery of Saxon coins and antiquities noticed in this *Journal* (see vol. xx, pp. 71-73, March 1864) was met with, leading to the conclusion that this spot formed the site of the ancient "Hamp-tune."

The building in the bay, shown on the plan, is evidently the "Crosse House," an ancient structure still remaining, of probably the sixteenth century. It was at this point that the ancient ferry to the village marked on the map "Ytch-yng" (Itchen) existed. The fort erected by King Henry VIII at Netley is shown a little below. Passing on to the north, on the Itchen side of the river, on the site of the ancient fort, Clausentum, a church (now demolished) is represented. A window of it is still traceable on the west side of the mansion of our associate, Steuart Macnaughten, Esq.

Near to the north-east margin of the map are some names which cannot be easily deciphered from the original map; but the reading may be supplied from a manuscript history of Southampton by Dr. Speed, viz. "Borell Stone Crosse East."

Passing into the town through the Bargate, in a southerly direction, the gate on the east side of the fortifications was called "Eastgate," and was pulled down in 1761. The gate at the lower end of the High-street, called "Watergate," was destroyed above sixty years since, and only a relic of it is to be found in the Castle Inn.

"God's House Gate" remains entire under the name of South Castle. At this point the ancient ditch skirting the east wall, emptied into the sea,—a floodgate having existed here. The Admiralty gallows is shown a little to the east of this gate, its site being occupied by the present extensive docks.

By a stretch of imagination, the draftsman, with a view of compressing the neighbouring places into his picture, seems to have represented the village of "Hyth" very much nearer to Southampton than it really is,—a similar licence having been taken with Netley Fort.

The Quay on the western side of the fortifications extended further than it does at present, and this part of the town was evidently the principal seat of commerce. The shore there is still called "The Tin Shore," and large vaults are found under the neighbouring houses and on each side of the West-street leading inward from the Westgate, which still remains. The land at this part of the fortifications, opposite King John's Palace and the other palatial buildings (now called the Arcade), is occupied by public buildings known as the Long Rooms and Baths. The extended lane parallel to the west margin of the plan still retains the name of "Hill-lane." "Mylbrook" also still bears its ancient name.

It will throw further light on this ancient map of Southampton, and illustrate the particular antiquities we are discussing, to give an extract from a very valuable manuscript volume, *On the History and Antiquity of Southampton*, by Dr. Speed, presented to the Corporation by our late esteemed townsman, John Rushworth Keele, Esq., to whom it originally belonged. Its authenticity is assured to me by a descendant of Dr. Speed, John Speed Davies, Esq., of Sewardstone, in the following extract from a letter to Charles P. Keele, Esq., Jan. 25, 1865. "I have manuscript anecdotes of the Speed family, written by him in a sort of *printing hand*,—indeed, I have much of his writing in the same style" as that of the Southampton manuscript volume.

In chapter iv, treating of the "liberties and precincts" of Southampton," Dr. Speed states,—

"These were not originally so extensive as they are at present; for about the 26th Henry II (or A.D. 1180), William Briwere was made the forester of the Forest de la Bere, with power to take any body transgressing therein, between the Barrs of Hampton and the gates of Winchester.¹ The forester could not take any body within the liberties of the town; and the Barrs, which were made the limits of his power, were likewise the limits of the town's liberties. The north gate of the town is still called the *Barr Gate*, from its standing where the Barrs did before the town was walled.

¹ Dugd., Baron., i, 700.

"The present extensive precinct was granted by King John, and was again laid down in the year 1254, in an inquest held at Shirley.¹ The boundary was confirmed by Edward IV, by Henry Bourchiere, Earl of Essex, Justice in Eyre.

"In 4 Hen. VII the precincts are described as under : 'The perambulation of the franchises of the town of Southampton, granted by King John, and confirmed by many other noble kings, his successors, and of late the bounds of the same franchises, by virtue of a writ out of the Exchequer of the said grant, and remaining in the Audit House, set out by Thomas Overy as hereafter followeth :²

"'Item, first, from Barred Gate, the north gate of Southampton, unto Acorn (Achard's) Brig and Crosse, west north-west : and from Acorn (Achard's) Brig and Crosse unto the Hede Crosse, north, through the village called Hill : and from the Cutted Thorn Crosse to Borelle Stone Crosse east, at Burger's Strete end, and so along Burger's Strete, and through Kinghorn Gate unto Haven Stone in Hilton East : and from Haven Stone along as the water lyeth unto Hegstone at Brackworth, Southampton ; and from Hegstone (millstone), as the water lyeth, to Itchenworth (Itchen Ferry), Southampton : and from Itchenworth, as the water lyeth, to the Maison Dieu Gate of Southampton west.'

"The crosses above mentioned, which were set as landmarks, were here, as in all other parts of the kingdom, demolished in the Commonwealth. The upper part of one of them is still preserved in the Audit House. On one side of it is cut, in the old square letters, 'The Heed (head) Crosse,' which at first sight looks like 'Hood Cross'; from whence the bound-stone that now lies in its place is, by an easy corruption, called 'Woody Crosse Stone.'

"The ancient custom was to hold a court-leet at the Cutted Thorn, where a place was enclosed for that purpose ; and all the inhabitants were summoned to ride the bounds, and attend the court, every year on the third Tuesday after Easter, on the penalty of one penny for every defaulter. A dinner was provided there at the expense of the Corporation. They came afterwards to hold their court in town in the morning, and rode the bounds in the afternoon ; and at their return the sheriff gave a supper to the whole company ; but within a very few years³ this has been left off, and they hold their court in town, and the mayor and sheriff very poorly attended."

¹ "See a full statement of it in the book with wooden covers in the bailiff's chest."

² "Extracted from an old book beginning with the mayoralty of Thomas Overy."

³ This refers to between ninety and a hundred years ago. The last entry of towns clerks in the volume is 1774.

To return to the town of Southampton and its various edifices.

Sir H. Englefield thinks the ancient edifices, King John's Palace, God's House, and Canute's Palace, to be of equal antiquity to the Bargate, even carrying back the period of the erection of the latter edifice to the age of Canute; and he even considers the keep of Southampton Castle to bear strong marks of Saxon origin. Mr. Hudson Turner¹ assigns the erection of King John's Palace to the early part of the twelfth century. Our late associate, Mr. W. D. Saull, in his *Notes on the Ancient Fortifications of Southampton*, gives it as his opinion that the large semicircular arch in the centre of the Bargate, "whose summits are ornamented with a simple string-course or fascia," is of a date antecedent to the Norman conquest.²

This Bargate, on the north of the town, is older than the other town-gates, as was also the north wall, which Sir H. Englefield says there is every reason "to suspect was strengthened by a ditch of uncommon depth and breadth," extended from the Test to the Itchen, the estuary of the Itchen then probably approaching much nearer to the Test at that point. Mr. Saull assigns an equally ancient date to God's House and Canute's Palace as to the Bargate, and sums up his observations on the fortifications of Southampton by concluding "that the ancient defences of the town were constructed from the ninth to the eleventh centuries." It is recorded that in the reign of John, £200 were allowed to the men of Southampton for the enclosure of the town, out of the fee-farm rent.³

Of the period of the erection of the Castle we have no certain knowledge. Some may be disposed to trace it back to Saxon times. Others may regard it as one of the castles erected by the Conqueror, though it is not one of the forty-nine castles mentioned in *Domesday Book*. It might have been one of the eleven hundred and nineteen castles built during the stormy period of Stephen's reign. We only certainly know that it was in existence in this sovereign's time, as Carte states (A.D. 1153) that, from a compromise between

¹ English Domestic Architecture. Oxford, 1854.

² Proceedings at the Winchester Congress of the British Archæological Association, pp. 424-427.

³ Rot. Pip., 4 Johan. (1203).

King Stephen and Prince Henry, the Bishop of Winchester was to give security for the delivery of the Castle of Southampton to Prince Henry on the death of Stephen; the bishops of that city being at that time earls of Southampton, and in that capacity probably governors of the Castle. The fortifications of the Castle may accord with the Norman period. Though the Castle may be assigned to this age, the keep may yet have been erected on an anterior Saxon fortification, to which its circular form would seem to give a degree of probability. This may have been one of the many forts which King Alfred built in the southern counties to repress the incursions of the Danes; and highly probable it is that the great ravages by that people to which the ancient town of Southampton, situated near the river, in the low grounds of St. Mary's parish, was exposed, must have early led the inhabitants to regard the higher elevation on which the keep and Castle are located, as a more suitable place of defence against such attacks; and to have looked especially to the site of the keep, as a resort for safety, long before the date of the conquest. It has been conjectured by Sir H. Englefield that the Castle might have been one of those fortresses dismantled in the general destruction of fortresses at the close of Stephen's reign. Dr. Speed states that the first castle was pulled down in Henry III's time. In 1246 we find Southampton was fined two hundred and seventy marks for the withholding of many duties which it owed to the Castle, and for selling timber, lead, and store-materials of the Castle.¹ In Edward III's reign, in 1338, the town was fiercely attacked, plundered, and partly reduced to ashes, by the French. Before this time, Sir H. Englefield conjectures that the west side of the town, "protected as it was by the Castle, and covered by the sea, was not at all, or very slightly, fortified"; and also that the south side was unfortified, from the awkward terminations of Bugle-street and French-street against the south wall (a very narrow lane of communication only being between them), which indicated that they were originally open to the sea. In 1341, to guard against such foreign outrages, a tax, for which there had been a royal writ twenty years before, was levied for the walling of the town. Another tax was levied in 1345. In 1369 an order was taken to repair the walls. About the first year

¹ Madox's *Exchequer*.

of the reign of Richard II (1377), the Castle was almost entirely *rebuilt*. In 1399, the expense of maintaining the walls falling heavily on the inhabitants, the crown granted £200 during pleasure, out of the wood-subsidy, towards repairing the fortifications; but in the following year (according to the Southampton Corporation MS. journal), changing the grant, the king released one hundred and forty marks of the fee-farm rents of the town towards repairs. The same journal states that in 1516 Henry VIII granted for the same purposes, out of the fee-farm of the town, £50 towards the making of the new wall on the west side of the town. Several private persons contributed at this time, and among others the Lord Arundel, whose name was given to one of the towers, which is still called "Arundel Tower." In 1546 collections were made for the repair of the walls.¹ From ancient custom, the boatmen or lytermen of Southampton and Hythe were obligated to bring yearly certain quantities of stones to lay against the base of the town walls.

The office of constable of the Castle was considered an important post. Adam de Port, of a family of distinction from the conquest, was governor in 1214; and in the eventful times of the Henrys and the Edwards the office was conferred on men of considerable note.²

Dr. Speed states that "the Castle wall was pulled down in the thirteenth year of Henry VII's reign; and that it was no part of the fortifications in which the town was concerned, but always belonged to the king. The site of it was granted away by Charles I to one Roger Gollop, Esq. (Recorder of Southampton in 1686). It has been since parcelled out to several people, who have built houses and made gardens upon the ground; and the ditch of it is converted into gardens to some houses in the town that lay round. The hill on which the Castle stood remains, and has a summer-house on it, built with the materials of the old Castle. This was formerly a windmill. There is enough of the walls left to show the compass of it; and within its precincts some arched vaults have been found in digging the foundation of houses, etc., which some people thought were private ways to other parts of the town, but I take them to have been magazines and storehouses for the use of the Castle. There is one in a

¹ Speed, chap. 5.

² Duthie's *Sketches of Hampshire*, p. 443.

garden adjoining the town which has much the air of a chapel.

"It is not easy to ascertain the precise time when this town ceased to be a garrison; but its consequence in that respect grew daily less in proportion to the increase of Portsmouth, and I do not consider that it was ever considered in that light after the Restoration. The walls are still standing all round the town, but are in very ruinous condition. Only those on the south and west sides, which lie next the sea, are kept in such repair as to prevent damage from the sea. As this was never a royal garrison, but was always maintained by the inhabitants, the materials and ground belonging to the fortifications are now the property of the Corporation, they being the only part of the inhabitants that are a person in law capable of holding possessions in common."

The keep of the Castle, described in Leland's *Collectanea* (vol. i, p. 502) as the glory of the Castle, and "both large and fair and very strong," both by work and the site of it, retained its existence as a round tower till the middle of the last century. It then became the property of Lord Stafford, who pulled down the tower of the keep to construct out of its materials a banqueting room. He disposed of it in 1774 to Arthur Atherley. His son sold it to a bricklayer for £400. It then came into the hands of Mr. Watson, who sold it to Lord Wycombe, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, who erected on its site, in 1805, a modern castellated building. He occupied also Lansdowne House, now the offices of the town clerk. His death took place in 1809. This new edifice was demolished in 1822, and the site became the property of several individuals. The keep mound was then lowered and spread. Its highest point is now occupied by Zion Chapel and a short street. The elevation of the site and the gradual declination of the ground from Castle-square down the street to the Sallyport, indicate to the inquiring eye the general outline of this portion of the Castle yard. There was a road for the inhabitants from the east gate of the Castle through this port to the shore.

The form of the area of the Castle was somewhat that of a horseshoe, semicircular; the diameter being formed by the western town wall, which with the river Test constituted its defence on that side. The length of the area at the west side is a hundred and thirty yards; its breadth, to the east

gate (at Castle-lane), which was the principal entrance to the Castle, is a hundred and one yards. A large portion of the ballium wall on the north side, gradually inclining toward the east till it touches the point of the east gate near the County Court, consisting of thirteen arches, is still preserved.¹ It was a portion of this wall, to the extent of nine arches, and a frontage of seventy yards, lately happily rescued from projected destruction. The wall was raised on arches either for the saving of materials or for the greater security of the foundation. The arches were flat, pointed, about nine or ten feet high, and five feet broad at the base. The thickness of the wall was seven feet four inches. These arches of the wall appeared to be filled in with layers of clay deposited in a liquid state, mixed with layers of gravel, which constituted a compact mass capable of great resistance. The entire height of the walling was about twenty-two feet. The exterior bank which concealed these arches, is now entirely cut away; but a part of the bank on the south of the wall, which was at the top about fifteen feet broad, remains. Beyond the bank, on the outside of the wall, was a deep ditch. One of the Castle wells remained till the late alterations near the west end of this wall, where also tradition reports was once a subterranean passage to the Bargate. The Castle wall may be traced beyond the eastern extremity of the ballium wall above described, veering still easterly, at the back of Mr. Buchan's and Mr. Knight's premises, to the commencement of Mr. Randal's manufactory, where it is united with the Castle keep. Seventeen yards of the stone wall of the keep are here sufficiently traceable to indicate the course of its circumference, thus showing that Southampton Castle keep, like the castle keeps of Arundel, Tunbridge, and York, was circular. In this part of the exterior of the keep may be noticed a few remaining steps, about three feet wide, of three of the staircases. The ditch which girts the keep on this side is very observable, especially in Mr. Gutch's garden. The close junction of the keep to the Castle wall may be considered by many favourable to the Saxon origin of the Castle itself, as it is almost a general rule that the keeps of Saxon castles are attached to the castle wall, or near it, while the Norman keeps are unattached. The Castle wall may be traced on the south side, in Mr. Robinson's house at the lower

¹ See plate 28, vol. xi, of this *Journal*.

end of Castle-square, immediately adjoining which was the sallyport. The Castle wall then forms the back of eight houses in the court called Castle Gardens, reaching to within a yard of its approach to the west wall, where an external vestige of it appears over the last house. Arches similar to those described in the north wall of the Castle may be seen in the lower apartments of some of these houses. I noticed them in the first and last. Few traces remain of the barbi-can, which was situated southward of this part of the wall. The vestige of a small turret or staircase marks the junction of the south with the west wall.

(To be continued.)

ON THE POPULATION AND TAXATION OF COLCHESTER,

TAKEN FOR COLLECTING A QUINDIME,
29TH EDWARD I. (1301.)

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

WHEN Edward I. held a parliament at Lincoln in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, he was in great need of money to carry on the Scottish war. The nobility and commons were dissatisfied with the numerous payments they had had to make into the Royal Exchequer, and it became necessary to offer them something more substantial than reasons for a fresh appeal to their liberality. On the present occasion he undertook to grant what they could fairly ask for, provided they assented to his own request.

The nation had long felt aggrieved by the harshness of the forest laws. They now presented a request to have a fresh perambulation. In reply, the king graciously declared (Feb. 14) that whatever by these last perambulations was disafforested, or deforested, should remain in this state, and what was then allowed to be forest, according to the metes and boundaries then set out, should remain so for ever. He further confirmed all the great charters of liberties and forests.¹

In consequence of these concessions, the Parliament granted

¹ Parliamentary Writs, v. i, p. 106.

him a quindime or fifteenth on all moveable goods, to be paid on the feast of St. Michael following.

The particulars of the valuation of all the property in the town of Colchester in the year 1296, when a seventh was collected ; and also in 1301, when a fifteenth was collected, have been preserved on the rolls of Parliament.¹ These entries are so minute that they give a catalogue of every article of furniture in the possession of the inhabitants, besides supplying their names, several of which still exist in the town. The attention will be confined to the latter account, because it is in every respect the fullest in its entries, and presents the most curious inventory for analysis. There are only five years difference of date, and not much variation. In the estimate for collecting the seventh, the villages of Miland, Greenstead, West Doniland, and Lexden, however, are included.² In this account the tax was chiefly levied on grain, and none of the names are the same as those entered on the Roll for taking the quindime. It is difficult to explain this, as each Roll appears complete in itself.

The taxation made by virtue of this order of Parliament was carried out by six commissioners in each county, a writ for the purpose being addressed to the sheriff. In a similar way, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign, when a seventh was granted by the burgesses, two commissioners, one lay and the other clerical, were appointed to make the valuation and collect the tax. In that year twelve burgesses are mentioned as superintending the taxation of Colchester.

By way of illustrating the nature of these returns, one entry, purely of an agricultural character, will show the worth of this kind of stock, and what was the value of property in the possession of a miller, at that time.

William, the miller, had on the aforesaid day of St. Michael last past in money, one marc of silver. In treasure, one brooch of silver worth ninepence, one ring worth a shilling. In his chamber, one robe worth ten shillings, one bed worth three shillings, one cloth worth ninepence, one towel worth sixpence. In the kitchen, one brass pot worth two shillings, one brass plate worth twelvepence, one brass pipkin eightpence, one hand-iron worth sixpence, one tripod

¹ Rotuli Parliamenti for the 7th, v. i, p. 228 ; for the 15th, v. i, pp. 243, etc.

² In the list of those paying a seventh, eighty-two persons only are returned. Of these, seven were in Midland, thirteen in Greenstead, twenty-five in West Doniland, and sixteen in Lexden.

worth fourpence. In the granary, one quarter of corn worth four shillings, one quarter of barley worth three shillings, two quarters of oat malt worth four shillings, two pigs worth ten shillings, two porkets worth three shillings, one pound of wool worth three shillings, fagots for fire-wood worth two and sixpence. The sum of the whole 63s. and 4d. The 15th, 4s. and 2½d. farthing. There are scarcely half a dozen burgesses whose tax was more.

Take another specimen, one of the humblest kind. Alicia Maynard had on the aforesaid day, one brass pipkin worth ten pence, one towel worth fivepence ; the value of which was fifteenpence, and her tax of the quindime consequently one penny.

There is but little variety in the moveables thus taxed for the quindime. Amongst the treasure, the silver brooch is the chief thing. Of these there were forty-five. A few only possessed money. Two only had a ring of silver, usually valued at sixpence ; some a mazer cup worth eighteen pence, or a robe much worn (*roba debilis*). The town had twenty silver spoons, one coverlet, one gold ring worth eightpence, and two gold brooches.

Upon making an analysis of the taxation roll for collecting a quindime in 1301, the following facts occur :—

Amongst three hundred and eighty-nine householders there appear to have been not half the number of beds. These scarcely exceeded a hundred and sixty-one—on the average valued at half-a-crown each. For these there were only thirty-one counterpanes and linen covers (*chalones et lintheamina*), probably sheets. The generality possessed a brazen pot (*po-cinetum*) or pan. Fifteen had mazer cups, usually valued at two shillings each. The clothing chiefly consisted of a roba, which is as frequently described as worn (*una roba debilis*). For instance, Elyas Aylwyne's taxable possessions consisted of only two things, one robe worn, worth four and sixpence, and a pig worth a shilling. Another individual had nothing but a brass pot and a sow. Another person had twelve shillings in money, but no bed. Stephen de Levenhay had a super-tunic (*debilis*) worth two shillings, shoes or soles fit for sale, fifteen shillings, and one hackney worth three shillings: this was probably the horse on which he travelled to sell them. The entry ends by stating that there were no other chattels. The whole value of his stock and possessions

amounted to eight shillings. Upon this he paid a tax of sixpence half-penny.

Richard Lorimarius, or Richard the saddler, had only one super-tunic, worn, worth fifteen pence, a brass pipkin worth a shilling, and the tools (*instrumenta*) belonging to his calling, eighteen pence. Upon these three slender returns he paid for his quindime three pence.

Bartholomew the weaver had his loom and shuttles valued at three shillings.

Wm. Dumberell the carpenter had a brodex (broad axe) worth five pence, an adese (adze) two pence, and an instrument called a squiry one penny, evidently a square. But in addition he had seven shillings in money.

The sum total of money returned as being in the possession of the inhabitants of Colchester amounted to no more than three marcs and a half, and ten pounds thirteen and elevenpence. In a round sum it may be set down as not exceeding fifteen pounds.

There is one singular fact put on record regarding some of those who had money in their possession. It is in several instances mentioned as being for their merchandise or for their business. Thus, Alexander the tiler had ten shillings. Robert Lyndraf or Robert the linen-draper six shillings and sixpence; whilst other sums are mentioned as being in the hands of the blacksmith, the tailor, or the shoemaker. Wyot the butcher is the only person mentioned as wearing a tabard. John de Geywood, who was a pastry-cook, had a brass dish for baking tarts worth three shillings (*pro arto copis coquandis*).

To recapitulate very briefly, we gain by this taxation of Colchester, a very fair idea of the condition of the middle classes, such as tradesmen and artisans, as they existed in a borough town like Colchester in the year 1301. We have three hundred and eighty-nine as the number of the taxable householders. All those who really had anything worth taxing, like Alicia Maynard for instance, whose possessions were limited to a brazen pipkin and a cloth worth together no more than fifteenpence, were rated for the quindime. The assessment returned the value of all that these householders possessed, at no more than 518*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* farthing, and the quindime due to the Crown as 34*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*

The contrast betwixt the state of Colchester in the reign

of Edward I and the present time, shews how much the town has increased in population, in wealth, and in importance during the interval. So dissimilar indeed is the social condition of the inhabitants, that it would have been difficult to believe without such evidence as that which I have used, that that class, now forming as it does the main support of England by its wealth, industry, and intelligence, could have ever struggled against such a want of the necessary conveniences of life. We find one half of the town actually living without beds to lie upon; for most assuredly there would have been more beds taxed if they had existed. We have the same proof that they were wretchedly clothed in worn out garments. Only forty-one persons possessed any money. The sum was most trifling, very rarely exceeding five shillings. One person, Peter Mot, had two shillings and sixpence; but nothing else whatever. What must have been the independence of Peter when he put his hand in his pocket, if he had one, and jingling the cash, took out two-pence, and said, "take that as my contribution to the war in Scotland!" Those two pence would now be about equivalent to what was then the amount of his whole capital. It may be supposed that this quindime was an oppressive tax. Undoubtedly it was, though it may be remarked, it was only half as much as the spiritual peers and barons granted to the king in the thirty-fourth year of his reign to carry on the war against Scotland. Whilst in the same Parliament the citizens and burgesses granted a twentieth of their moveables for the same purpose. Nor, indeed, was it so heavy as the taxes which press upon industry in our own day. In the reign of Edward I such contributions as these were the only payments the middle classes had to make. But whilst we are exempt from levies under this title, we have to pay them to a greater proportionate amount under innumerable forms and titles, far too many to recount, but with which experience makes us too painfully acquainted.

During the reign of Edward I the sources of the national revenue mainly issued from direct taxation either by exactions from the Jews or else from the church. Exports and imports contributed very little to the exchequer. The taxes were then only insignificant returns. They arose chiefly from ferries, bridges, and fairs. The necessities of the monarch—necessities, however, which were forced upon him

by the conquest of Wales and the war in Scotland, increased also by his expedition to the Holy Land, led him to seek for other means than these of raising money. Hence, what were levied were termed the *Nova Custuma*, or such new customs and dues as arose out of the privilege granted to foreign merchants of trading with the English.

These duties were laid upon wine, wool, cloth, and wax, besides pounding, or threepence in the pound upon all articles re-shipped from this country. In the mean time, the services owing to the crown from its vassals became more laxly discharged; whilst a new and more profitable system of taxation, in fact, the *Nova Custuma*, which had been easily collected from aliens, became gradually introduced amongst his own subjects.

The first duties imposed (3 Edward I) were extremely moderate; but as the money for carrying on the Welsh and Scottish wars became more needful, the king required a larger revenue, and thus, as in our own day, war created new methods of taxation, whilst it demanded larger supplies.

At length, it became absolutely necessary to obtain resources through the voice of the people. By the twenty-sixth year of the reign, the king could only meet the exigencies of the state by making an appeal to the knights and burgesses through their voice in Parliament. In this manner, taxation introduced a more extended representation of the popular will in Parliament.

The public revenue during the reign of Edward I has been estimated at 150,000*l.* annually; rather less than half what is granted to the Crown at the present day for its own use, and also considerably less than half the reputed income of some of the English nobility.

Instituting a comparison betwixt the population of Colchester in 1301 and the last census as it was enumerated in 1861, it appears that in the former year there were 389 householders, and in the latter 23,809 inhabitants, or as estimated to the middle of the present year 25,426.

In the year 1301 a fifteenth assessed to the Crown brought in 34*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* The assessed taxes paid in the borough in the year ending April 1857 being the latest for which the Inland Revenue can supply the returns for the borough, was 2043*l.* The property and income tax for the year ending April 1863 was 2715*l.*, or taking the two together

4758*l.*, as set against 34*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*, the sum paid for the quindime.

These figures, authenticated by official authority, because derived from the Department of the Inland Revenue and the office of the Registrar General at Somerset House, as the document for the taxation of Colchester is from the Rolls of Parliament, suggest several questions deserving the attention of the social economist, the statician, and the archæologist.

There is but one inference, however, that shall now occupy consideration. Therefore, dismissing from notice the different way in which finances were formerly raised for the support of the nation ; for example, such as by scutages, tallages, aids, and subsidies, or by benevolences, which were the most tyrannical of all methods, or by amicable grants, which were the most compulsory, both of them highly characteristic of Henry VIII, who originated them. Passing over the modes of raising money by reliefs, tonnage, poundage, maletolt, alnage, pourveyance, prisage, etc., and such ancient resources of the exchequer, we are struck with the prodigious increase of wealth in the interval, and with the varied kind of taxation under which the kingdom has struggled from the time these inquiries commence. We are astonished yearly at the sums demanded for the public service, absorbed by works or by the maintenance of forces for protecting the realm and its numerous colonies, sums cheerfully paid for guarding it from invasion and securing our supremacy of the ocean. Even amid the lavish expenditure of statesmen, there exists no pressure upon our energies, but little complaint even, the prosperity of the nation and its income keeping pace with every requirement. Thus, like the Lernæan hydra of classical antiquity, England has within it such a perpetually changing and reproductive vigour in her natural elements of wealth, that her power of raising money seems almost exhaustless.

The facts gathered from the document descriptive of the town of Colchester, shew how immensely its wealth has increased since that period. It is equally certain that the intelligence of that active portion of our population who work its mines and toil in its manufactories, evident alike from the returns of its inland trade and maritime commerce that its riches will continue to be developed, even in a still

more rapid way, in the state of geometric progression, so that our resources may be estimated as without an assignable limit. The time has passed away when the nation sat down appalled at the magnitude of its debt. No feeling of despondency seizes the public mind when the state requires a new impost, though it would be satisfactory if some of those which are still so troublesome were abolished.

It is amusing to read the grave apprehensions expressed on these subjects just after the great revolution in 1688, as well as in periods of political excitement nearer our own time. There was a day when the pursuits of archæology were deemed useless and trivial. But if those celebrated writers to whom allusion will be made had searched a little into the remoter history of the past and used the authentic evidences of the people, their works might have rendered better service to literature, and the conclusions they arrived at on these subjects would have placed them out of the reach of compassion and ridicule.

The first of the writers whom I shall quote, declares six years after this great event happened, "that not one man in a hundred would have contributed to it, if they could have foreseen how it would have helped to the utter beggaring of ourselves by the decay of traffic and unsupportable taxes."

Lord Lyttelton, who, as an historian, ought to have been better instructed, writing in 1739, said, "that our credit was sunk at home and abroad, the people dispirited and discontented, because we owed almost forty millions."

Again, Lord Bolingbroke, a statesman singularly well acquainted with the affairs of Europe, and a philosopher not accustomed to indulge in restricted ideas, says in his *Reflections on the State of the Nation principally with regard to her Taxes and her Debts, their causes and their consequences*, "Our Parliamentary aids from the year 1740 exclusively to the year 1748, amount to 55,522,159*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions, a sum that will appear incredible to future generations."

Hannay, another writer, speaking on the same subject in 1756, says, "It has been a general notion amongst political arithmeticians that we may increase our debt to one hundred millions ; but they acknowledged that it must then cease by the debtor becoming bankrupt. But it is very difficult

to comprehend, if we do not stop at seventy-five millions, where we shall stop."

Hume, Adam Smith, Dr. Price, Lord Kaims, and many other writers during the last century, asserted we had actually reached the goal of national ruin. Yet, had they instituted a comparison of the taxation and the increased sources of revenue as they found it in their own time and in previous reigns, no doubt they would have arrived at sounder and more cheerful conclusions. Certainly, judging from all that has passed in fiscal administration during the present century, and drawing information from whatever quarter we may, there is no reason for crediting the statement made a few years before the revolution, that "a kind of common consumption hath crowded upon us"; still less is there any reason for fearing either a diminution of the national wealth or that the increasing power and progress of the country will decline. In the words of Dryden,—

"We know those blessings which we must possess,
And judge of future by past happiness."

APPENDIX.

BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER.

Population enumerated 1861, 23,809 ; estimated to middle of the year 1864, 25,426.

Assessed taxes paid in the year ending April 1857, 2043*l*.¹

Property and income tax for the year ending April 1863, 2,715*l*.

¹ This is the latest year that the Inland Revenue Department can supply the figures for Colchester *borough*, without applying to their local officers. It is stated, however, that the total amount varies but little year by year.

ON ROMAN PENATES DISCOVERED AT EXETER.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

OF the Roman antiquities of Devonshire accounts are as yet exceedingly scanty. Though possessed of Roman stations, probably not of great magnitude, few objects have reached the hands of the antiquary, and of those still fewer have been recorded. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, makes mention of a great Roman tessellated pavement having been found in Pancras-lane, behind the Guildhall of Exeter, at a depth of eight feet from the surface of the ground. Portions of others have been discovered,—one in digging the foundation of the house of Mr. Dennis in High-street, in 1777,—together with some Roman coins, which are now nowhere to be found: indeed, it is to be lamented that there has not been in Exeter any museum or repository where they could be placed, and made subservient to the purposes of history. A pot of Roman coins, of two pecks, Stukeley records¹ to have been dug up in 1722, near St. Martin's Church. He saw some of them in Dr. Musgrave's possession, and they were of Gordianus, Balbinus, Philippus, Julia Moesa, Geta, Gallienus, etc. Mr. Londham, a surgeon in Exeter, had also many of them in his collection; and a Mr. Reynolds, a schoolmaster, preserved several specimens.

Some years since, at a sale in London of property belonging to the late Mr. Edward Upham, formerly of Bath, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted,—a man of varied attainments, and gifted with a spirit of inquiry into whatever was either curious or useful,—I purchased some ROMAN PENATES,² together with a bronze cock, which had been dug up out of a cellar beneath the abode of Mr. Upham in the High-street, at the corner of Broadgate, leading to the Close of the Cathedral church. Of them I propose to give a short account; and in doing this I am necessitated to make reference to the *Archæologia*³ (the “Transactions” of the Society of

¹ P. 151.

² Penates were deities worshipped in the *penetralia*, or innermost parts of the houses, but not wholly confined to their habitations, inasmuch as there were *Publici Penates* worshipped in the Capitol, and to these were attributed the protection of the city and temples. Penates are distinguished from Lares, the former being regarded as of divine, the latter of human origin.

³ Vol. vi, p. 1 *et seq.*

Antiquaries of London), to which learned body a communication in relation to their discovery was made by their zealous President, Jeremiah Milles, D.D., Dean of Exeter, in 1779. It appears from this account that they were found within a very narrow space, and at a depth not exceeding three or four feet below the present pavement of the street. With them were discovered a small figure of a cock in bronze, a large quantity of oyster-shells, which from their shape and size were recognised as having been brought from a village on the sea-shore, called Budleigh, about twelve miles south-east of Exeter. Fragments of urns, stated to have been of different forms, sizes, colours, and texture,—some dark brown, others red and glazed as in what is commonly called Samian ware, adorned with fancied borders and human figures, executed, as we all know, with considerable taste. It is to be regretted that none of these specimens were preserved, or even exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries. The vessels were most likely broken up by the workmen when the discovery was made, and Mr. Upham's attention was not called to the matter until the figures were found. Future search, however, produced little result,—a large Roman tile seems to have been the only other relic. Not even a coin is mentioned. There were, however, portions of horns, bones, teeth, cinders of glass and metal, and some burnt wood, which were laid before the Society of Antiquaries. Thus it is in my power only to submit for engraving the Penates, and I shall accompany the examples with a very few remarks.

The figures are five in number, and they severally represent one of CERES, two of MERCURY, one of MARS, and one of (probably) an APOLLO. They are, therefore, of the superior class of Roman divinities known as the *DII MAJORUM GENTIUM*, the great celestial deities.

Fig. 1, CERES.—A female figure, four inches and a half high, is dressed in a long, loose garment which covers the whole of the body. A diadem similar to that which is observed on the heads of Livia and of Trajan's queen adorns her hair, which is tied behind, and allowed to fall down the back. A fracture of the left arm is an unfortunate mutilation, but in the right there is a cornucopia containing fruit. Corrosion by rust has removed the sharpness of the original workmanship. Dean Milles compared this figure with one

in Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité Expliquée*,¹ assigned to the goddess Ceres, which corresponds to the Exeter figure in the head-dress of that divinity, also with a cornucopia, but in the left hand, and carried up so as to rest on the shoulder, whilst the right one has a branch of poppies; both being among the known emblems.² There are also other representations in the work of Montfaucon, taken from medals which represent the goddess FORTUNA with a cornucopia in her right hand. The cornucopia is, however, too frequent an emblem to be considered as exclusively belonging to Ceres, though common in the representation of that deity. The emblem is to be found denoting plenty,—a consequence derived from various sources, and by various means: it is, therefore, given to FÆLICITAS, ÆQUITAS, ÆTERNITAS, and also to MONETA. It no less appertains to countries whose richness of soil bestows fertility and wealth. It is generally to be seen in the left hand. The cornucopia appears on a gem in the Maffei Collection (Montfaucon, *L'Antiq. Expliq.*, tab. xlii, tom. i, fig. 4), and one also (fig. 6) very remarkable from Bager's Museum, in which Ceres has a head-dress of corn and poppies, and on her bosom two seated figures of naked children, each holding a cornucopia symbolical of her as nourisher of the world, whilst suspended from her neck is a heart, serving to give additional expression of tenderness.

Of the two statues of MERCURY, the messenger of Jupiter and the gods, one is four inches and a half long, the other four and a quarter. They vary in their treatment and their drapery is different.

Fig. 2.—The first is an exceedingly well-proportioned figure; the wings, the special characteristic of this deity, appear to grow out of the head or hair and not to be attached to the bonnet, winged cap, or *petasus*, as in the second example. Neither has he wings on his feet as the second. The garment is also differently disposed; it is gracefully thrown around his left arm, falling in a fold. From the shoulder it passes behind the arms, is then curved across the anterior part of the lower portion of the arm and the forearm, leaving the hand and fingers exposed, whence it

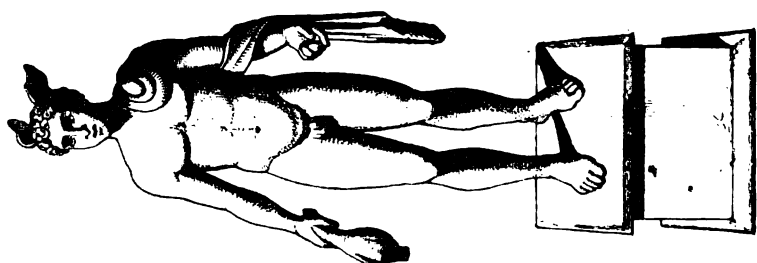
¹ His reference to Suppl. I, pl. LXV, fig. 5, is incorrect. It should be tom. i, Suppl., pl. XXVIII, fig. 5.

² The head of the goddess of corn and husbandry, or agriculture, is frequently crowned with ears of corn or poppies. She also often carries a torch in her hand,—a torch lighted at Mount Ætna, to aid in her search for her daughter Proserpina, carried off by Pluto.

falls dependant, reaching as low down as the knee. The left hand is empty, but the right holds a purse. This figure strongly resembles one also represented in Montfaucon's work (tom. i, pl. lxxviii, fig. 3.)

Fig. 3.—The second figure of MERCURY, as already stated, has a petasus to which wings are attached and from which they go up in almost a perpendicular direction. There are also wings, which are long, and rise up from the outer part of each leg, springing from the ankle. The drapery is more profuse than in the former figure, flows over the left breast, hanging from the right side of the neck and shoulders, covers almost entirely the left arm and hand and then depends beneath the knee. The right hand and forearm is wanting. The general condition of this figure is not so good as that of the former example, probably from having lain for a long time in moist earth.

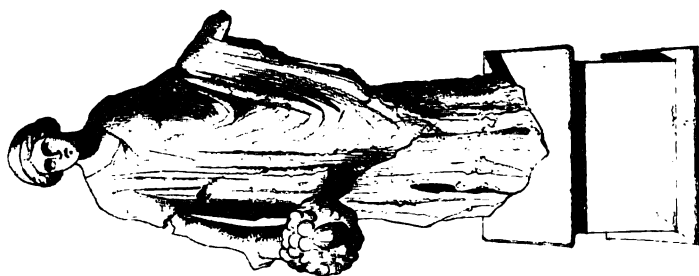
Fig. 4.—It is probable that a bronze cock found with these penates belonged to one of the figures of Mercury, and might have been placed in the left hand of one or other of them. The bird is figured in connexion with a representation of Mercury which has the petasus with wings, and holds a caduceus, in Montfaucon (*Suppl.*, i, pl. xxxvii, fig. 5). A Maffei gem offers also an illustration of Mercury with purse, caduceus and the cock (*Montf. Ant. Expl.* pl. lxxi). As denoting vigilance it seems to belong to Mercury, and there are not wanting many gems in which this animal appears in connexion with that deity. Mercury was the Roman divinity of commerce and of gain, and to him altars and temples were erected. The purse denotes his function; but he is not identical with HERMES, whose attributes have been transferred to him. Hermes was the god of prudence and skill, qualities essential to a herald or messenger. He is to be seen with the *petasus* or travelling hat, furnished with a broad brim, and in a late example is to be found accompanied with wings—wings also springing from his locks of hair, there being no hat. Later works exhibit his staff with which he was esteemed to possess the power of closing or opening the eyes of mortals, and it was entwined with serpents. The staff he is supposed to have received from Apollo. It must, however, be remarked that there were two kinds, one the ordinary herald's staff, the other a magic one. The ribbands of the



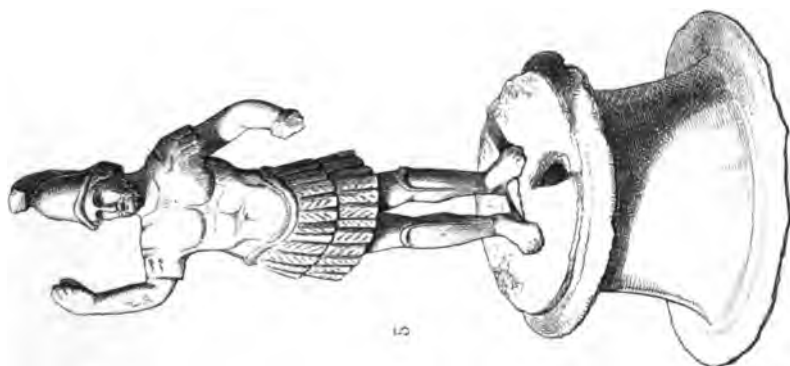
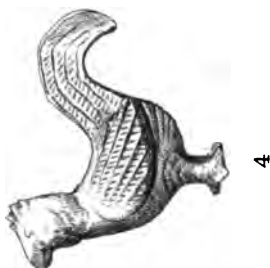
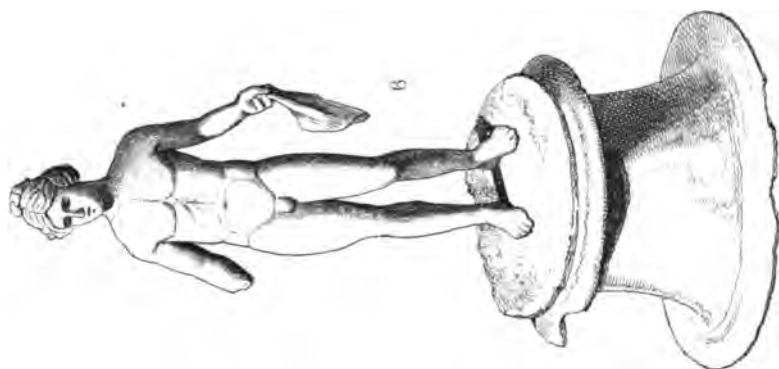
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herald's staff have probably been transmuted into serpents. The staff had also sometimes wings to denote the rapidity of celestial travelling, and his sandals were gold.

Mercury has been identified with the Greek Hermes, and seen presenting the same emblems. The Fetiales,¹ however, always used a sacred branch as an emblem of peace in lieu of the caduceus. A square pedestal of bronze was found with the figures as also with that of Ceres, and from the rivets at the bottom of the figures it appears that they belonged to, and were fitted into, them when perfect. A round pedestal also belongs to the figure of Mars and another of the same description to Apollo.

Fig. 5.—MARS, the son of Juno, the god of war, worshipped by the Romans as the father of Romulus their founder, is one of the three tutelary divinities of Rome. The costume of the figure found would seem to assign it to that deity; but it may also be regarded as simply denoting a Roman warrior. It is two inches and a half in height, has a high crested helmet, a coat of mail and boots which cover the front of the legs. Whether the upraised right arm ever held a sword or not is uncertain and questionable. The attitude would seem to warrant the supposition, and the left arm might have possessed a shield.² Both arms are unfortunately truncated at the hands.

Fig. 6.—The last figure to which I have to direct attention is only two inches and a quarter high, and has been assigned to APOLLO. It is youthful and graceful, the right hand is wanting, but the left carries something resembling a garment or linen cloth, not sufficiently distinct to be positively recognised. If this figure be intended to represent the son of Jupiter and Latona to be the god of poetry and music, and medicine and augury and archery, he is here without the usual emblems; for he has neither bow and arrow, nor lyre or harp, nor is he crowned with laurel, which was sacred to this divinity, nor is he accompanied with the hawk or raven, both of which are among his known emblems. The only attributes presented are, that he is a young man, beautiful and beardless. It should be remarked that he is without the long hair which is usually seen in figures of this celebrated divinity.

¹ Sacred persons employed in declaring war and making peace.

² There are two holes for rivets in the stand, which strengthens this supposition.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 8.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

Thomas Law Blane, Esq., 25, Dover-street
 Morrice Charles Jones, Esq., 11, Dale-street, Liverpool
 J. M. Frodsham, M.D., 17, Victoria-square, Pimlico
 Theodore Kirchhofer, Esq., Univ. Tubing. et Heidelb., 9, Great
 Ormond-street, Bloomsbury.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Kilkenny Archæological Journal. No. 45, July 1864. 8vo.

„ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 72, Feb. 1865. 8vo.

„ „ Notice of the Life and Writings of C. C. Rafn, Sec. Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Copenhagen, 1864. 8vo.

To the Trustees. General Description of Sir John Soane's Museum. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for March 1865. 8vo.

Mr. James Read of Ipswich forwarded a paper relating to Grove's MSS. concerning Cardinal Wolsey, of which the following is an abstract :

A biographical catalogue of persons connected with the town of Ipswich, worthy of record in a local history, may probably be of some extent ; and among them, at least, is one of a world-wide reputation, THOMAS WOLSEY. He rose from obscurity to high rank, and must be classed with the first statesmen in Europe. In an eminent degree he was a man of thought as well as of action. Modern historians have formed a more favourable estimate of his character than their predecessors. His principal biographers have, however, written for some particular object, and have been ingenious enough to give to party colouring the appearance of truth. Cavendish's narrative, although very defective, has yet been the source relied on by those who have

compiled his life ; but this narrative was not printed till 1641. It was used for more than a century without any one taking the trouble to compare it with the original MS. When examined, it was found mutilated and interpolated without shame or scruple. Thus unfortunate has Wolsey been in his biographers. An impartial life of this great man is still a *desideratum*. During three years¹ there came out four considerable 8vo. volumes illustrated with portraits and prints,—a work entitled *The Life and Times of Cardinell Wolsey*, embodying, as the result of much pains, a considerable mass of materials ; this labour being the work of Joseph Grove, a solicitor at Richmond,—a devoted admirer of Wolsey, who subsequently printed eight works on the same subject, independently of eleven separate Appendices, some of which appear to have been privately printed. In the last of them he says :

“I have lately (Aug. 12, 1760) been at the trouble and expense of a second journey to Ipswich in order to collect all the materials I possibly could upon the spot concerning the life and actions of *Mr. Robert Wolsey*, the father of the famous Cardinal, and the manner of educating his son before his sending him to the University of Oxford. Whether Mr. Robert Wolsey was born at Ipswich, I have not been able to discover. However, it is agreed on all sides that he was an honest man, and well respected where he lived. His habitation was a neat house in St. Nicholas-street, in the parish of St. Nicholas, on the right hand side going down the street. It stands at the left hand corner of a little avenue leading into St. Nicholas churchyard, which runs close by its garden-wall. Though the front of the house has been new built, yet the back part has several marks of antiquity. Mr. Wolsey married his wife at Ipswich. Her Christian name was *Joan* ; but I could not learn her maiden name. It is certain Mr. Wolsey was related to Mr. Edmund Daundy, a very rich and religious man, who at his own expense built the market cross, which at this day makes a very handsome appearance. Mr. Daundy left a son and daughter. The son continued to live in Ipswich after his father's death. This young gentleman shewed great respect and veneration for his kinsman, the son of our Mr. Robert Wolsey, as evidently appears by generously presenting to him a great quantity of stone, made use of by the Cardinal in building his college there.

“Mr. Daundy's sister married Wil. Fernly of West Creting in Suf-

¹ Grove (Joseph), *History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*. 8vo. Lond., 1742-4. 4 vols. Seldom found perfect.

Two Dialogues in the Elysian Fields between Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Ximenes. To which are added Historical Accounts of Wolsey's two Colleges and the Town of Ipswich. 8vo. Lond., 1761. *Lowndes*.

The Life of Henry 8th by Mr. William Shakespeare ; in which are interspersed Historical Notes, Moral Reflections and Observations, in respect to the unhappy Fate Cardinal Wolsey met with. By Joseph Grove. 8vo. 1758.

folk, whose daughter Jane married Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in Q. Elizabeth's time. He mentions also the alliance of this family and the Greshams, the friendship existing between Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Richard Gresham. He adds, as to the Bacon family, several of them were born, possessed good estates, and lived in great repute in and near Ipswich.

"I shall now inquire after Mr. Robert Wolsey's estates in Ipswich, besides his dwellinghouse. He had other houses which run up in a direct line to Mr. Creighton's the printer's, the bookseller's shop adjoining to it is in St. Laurence parish, all which were part of Mr. Wolsey's estate, as was likewise the ground that lies lower down, behind some houses fronting the street, which Mr. Creighton has made into a fine rural garden. He has also laid out another garden, cross the way into St. Nicholas-street, whereon three houses are built; all which shews the estate in this parish to be considerable.

"I next proceeded through St. Peter-street, over the Bridge into Stoke (this I call a hamlet), and continued walking until I came to Bourn Bridge, which is the utmost extent of the parish that way. There I found, on the right hand side of the road, a freehold farm, formerly the property of Mr. Wolsey, which consists of above two hundred and forty acres of land, and a house upon it. This is the same land Dr. Capon, dean of the Cardinal's college at Ipswich, mentions in his letter to the Cardinal.

"I inquired after his copyhold estates in Stoke; and though I could not find the lands, for want of the copies of the court-rolls, yet several were of opinion that they lay contiguous to his freehold farm. Now as part of Mr. Wolsey's lands in Stoke were pasture, and not much more than a mile and a half from his dwellinghouse, he, after the example of other gentlemen in the kingdom, grazed such part of it which was convenient for the purpose; and after the cattle were fit for market, he caused them to be sold. From thence the tale of calling him a butcher was raised.

"Some of our historians, when they are almost out of breath in throwing out indecent reflections upon the Cardinal, fall at last upon this gentleman, his father, calling him a poor butcher of Ipswich, though at the same time they are totally unacquainted with what he was; whilst others have incautiously attempted to lessen his great character by insinuating that he made the pride of the English nobility stoop to the son of a butcher of Ipswich, when in reality this butcher, as they style him, was as much a gentleman, and lived as respectfully in a private manner, as any of their fathers did."

Thus far, Mr. Grove, who then gives some curious details of the manner in which some of the nobility disposed of their cattle; and it is still the vulgar belief that Cardinal Wolsey was the son of a poor butcher.

Robert Wolsey and his wife Joan were buried in the middle aisle of St. Nicholas's Church, near the pulpit. Their effigies in brass were affixed upon the stone laid down on their graves. Mr. Grove states: "I received a knowledge of these brass effigies from a gentlewoman who now lives in the house Mr. Robert Wolsey formerly inhabited, and which she has so done for above thirty years. This gentlewoman in discourse said; that when she first came to live there, she, taking a view of the gravestone in St. Nicholas's Church, observed one of the stones near the pulpit to have the marks where figures had been fixed on it, she asked the sexton whose gravestone that was. He replied, *'It was Robert and Joan Wolsey, father and mother of the famous Cardinal, in whose house you live, and as their brass effigies were loose, I took them up the other day and carried them into the vestry-room, where they now are.'* But curiosity did not lead her to see the figures, although, she said, she believed they are both there. Rejoiced at having received this information, I went instantly into the church and found the stone in the middle aisle, near the pulpit, as the lady had described; thence I went into the vestry-room, and there I inquired of the now sexton for the said brass figures; but, to my great disappointment, they were not to be found. The man told me he was but lately come into his office, and that his predecessor and his father before him, had been above seventy years sextons of the parish. It is likely they were sold for old brass.

"After I had thus far proceeded, I spoke to the Rev. Mr. Canning. He said, I will see if I can supply the defect. I have a book wherein a gentleman some years ago entered all the epitaphs found in the churches in this town; but, to our surprise, St. Nicholas parish was torn out. The like case occurred at Oxford. When there in October, continuing my researches concerning Cardinal Wolsey, I waited on Dr. Jenner, Beadle of Magdalen College, to find the entry of Wolsey's admission.

"I have, since you were at Oxford last, been in the tower, where the records of the college are kept; but the book cannot be found; it is either lost or mislaid, was his reply."

These few extracts, of local interest at least, are brought forward for the simple reason, that the minor works of Jos. Grove are not particularly specified by any of our British bibliographers; we may conclude, therefore, that they are not deposited in our public libraries. It is necessary to add that these tracts are illustrated by a portrait of Robert Wolsey, and plans of the extent of his college at Ipswich, with other engravings.

It is to be regretted that the inhabitants of this old town have done nothing to testify their veneration to the memory of one who, if his designs had been carried out, would have placed the cause of edu-

cation in the very foremost position. It seems that they are perfectly satisfied that the names of Wolsey and Ipswich will be associated together as long as the pages of Shakespeare are preserved.

It will be some time, perhaps, before the advice is followed which Mr. Grove gave to the people of Ipswich a little more than a century ago, to erect a statue to his memory, as the city of Rotterdam had done to his friend Erasmus; but what might be done to supply the defect of our local books, would be to collect the various documents respecting the foundation of his school here. There is a highly interesting letter from the bailiffs and inhabitants, thanking the Cardinal for his munificent scheme for the benefit of all the people here. Such are now scattered and buried in large works; but, collected and placed chronologically, they would form an important contribution to the history of education. It is worthy of remark, that that interesting relic, the foundation stone of this Ipswich school, with a Latin inscription, and which was so solemnly laid by the then Bishop of Lincoln, was found about the middle of the last century by the Rev. Richard Canning—a worthy and learned clergyman of the town—in the wall of a malt-house; it was very little damaged, and is to be found now in the Cardinal's College at Oxford.

At the commencement of this paper, Wolsey is mentioned as a man of thought, that intuitive faculty called far-seeing was pre-eminently his. He saw the importance of literature in this country, and urged the making a catalogue of MSS. relating to English history in the Library of the Vatican at Rome. He planned this for the benefit of his new college at Oxford. This has been just now partially done by the British Government, and the transcripts recently placed in the British Museum.

The principal charge against Wolsey was his ambition. He, however, used it as an instrument for good. We have the best authority that he neglected his private family, to the end that he might employ his immense fortune towards the public advancement of every thing laudable and praiseworthy. Do Englishmen boast of their country having wooden walls? It was Wolsey "that first brought into use the building of large ships, as a measure of great utility and policy." He not only protected his countrymen, but sought to advance the cure of their maladies, and requested and devised a union of learned men for this purpose; and the Royal College of Physicians have placed a Latin inscription on their college walls, ascribing to Wolsey this work "of pre-eminent merit."¹

¹ It was to the zealous representations of Linacre, addressed to Henry VIII through his intimate friend and patient, Cardinal Wolsey, that the erection of the Royal College of Physicians of London is to be attributed, and the letters patent bear date 1518. The munificence of the crown was confined to the

The modern free trade views find the germs of their principles in his schemes. The magnificent buildings for public use erected by him are known to every schoolboy. Christ Church College, Oxford, would have been the largest and best foundation for learning the world had yet seen; and the University of Cambridge declared "they considered him as one sent by Divine Providence from heaven, for the public benefit of mankind."

Miss Holden, of Swathing Grange, Southampton, exhibited three pennies of William the Conqueror and William Rufus. The following description is given by the distinguished numismatist, G. B. Bergne, Esq., F.S.A. :—

"The three coins which have been sent for inspection by the Rev. E. Kell from Miss Holden, are pennies of William I or II. They are stated to have formed part of the great hoard discovered at Beaworth, about seven miles from Winchester, on the 30th of June, 1838, which was described by Mr. Hawkins in an excellent paper published in vol. xxvi of the *Archæologia*; and there can be no doubt that this is the case, because the coins are in general appearance exactly similar to those known to have come from the hoard.

"They may be described as follows :—

"1. *Obv.* + β ILLEM REX ANII. Full-faced bust of the king, crowned; a star on each side of the neck. *Rev.* GODRIIEI ON OÐRI, *i.e.*, Norwich, the N serving as the last letter of ON and the first of the place of mintage. In the centre an ornamented cross. (Hawkins, No. 238.) 2. *Obv.* + PILLELM REX. Full-faced bust, crowned, a sceptre in the right hand. *Rev.* IELFPINE ON TAN (Taunton). A cross, in the angles of which are four circles containing the letters PAXS. (Hawkins, No. 241.) 3. *Obv.* + PILLELM REX. Full-faced bust, crowned, a sword in the right hand, a star over the left shoulder. *Rev.* + OTER ON DORECSTR (Dorchester). An ornamented cross. (Hawkins, No. 243, save as to the star.)

"No. 1 is a type less common than some of the others of the two Williams, though it can hardly be termed rare. The moneyer whose name, though maltreated by the ignorance of the engraver of the die, is no doubt GODRIC, who appears in connection with the Norwich mint, though not of this type, in Hawkins's List of the Beaworth find.

"No. 2. This type, which previously to the find at Beaworth was one of the rarest of the two Williams, has now become by far the commonest. The great bulk of that find, consisting probably of ten thousand coins, was of this type. Both mint and moneyer of the present specimen occur in Hawkins's List.

"No. 3. The type with the bust of the king holding a sword in his grant of these letters, confirmed by Parliament. The expenses were defrayed by Linacre and his friends. (See Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait Gallery*, vol. i.)

right hand, though much less common than the preceding, cannot be called rare. But the present specimen has the peculiarity of a star above the left shoulder, and the mint and moneyer are of uncommon occurrence. I possess a specimen of this type which has a large pellet above the left shoulder and another with a cross in the same position ; the latter is of the same mint and moneyer as this one. There was also a specimen in the Durrant Cabinet. But I do not remember to have ever until now seen the variety with the star. The moneyer and mint are in Hawkins's List, but of a different type.

"The appropriation of these coins is a moot point among numismatists. Mr. Hawkins assigns all three types to the Conqueror. Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, whose opinion is entitled to much weight, attributes them to Rufus. Where such eminent authorities differ, it would be presumptuous to decide; but I can see no sufficient reason for differing from the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Hawkins in his paper in the *Archæologia*."

Mrs. Prest transmitted six Roman coins found at Cundall, Yorkshire ; viz., *Minutus* of base silver of Caracalla ; the rest small brass of Victorinus, Theodora (second wife of Constantius Chlorus), Urbs Roma, Constantine II, and Arcadius, the four last minted at Treves.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., made a communication on the discovery of a Roman building at Gurnard's Bay, Isle of Wight, which will appear in a future *Journal* with illustrations. Upon the reading of this paper a discussion ensued, and many points were disputed by Mr. T. Wright and Mr. Cuming.

Mr. Wright remarked that he could see nothing in these discoveries which concerned in any way the question of the tin trade referred to by Mr. Kell in his paper ; but they were very interesting as throwing further light upon the occupation of the Isle of Wight by the Romans. The leaden stamps of the Roman period formed a new class of antiquities in this country ; at least, a class which had not been remarked till recently. They were found in very considerable numbers, far more than at any other place, at Brough-upon-Stanemore in Westmoreland, the site of the Roman station of *Verteræ*. They have generally a loop-hole for attaching them to some object, and appear, by the letters and figures inscribed upon them, to have been intended as marks for authenticating merchandise or stores, or some other objects ; and Mr. Wright suggested that the discovery of so many of them at Brough-upon-Stanemore is perhaps to be explained by the supposition that the Romans had at *Verteræ* some public office into which the objects thus authenticated were delivered, and these leaden seals taken off and thrown aside, as no longer of any use. He remarked that the leaden seals now exhibited differed in character from those to which he alluded, and had no loop-holes for attaching them to anything.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that, without questioning the Roman origin of many of the objects discovered at Gurnard's Bay, there were yet several of much more modern date; the whole of the leaden pieces being the work of the seventeenth or early part even of the eighteenth century. So far from these being Roman seals they were mere dumps, nine of them bearing the letters T. C., the initials probably of the boy who cast them. The holes at the edge of four of the larger dumps indicate that they may have been employed as "leads" for sinking fishing-nets and lines, after they had served their turn as playthings. Such pieces are met with in abundance along the banks of the Thames, and occasionally display dates in addition to the makers' initials, as for example s. p., 1633, and i. t., 1711. Among the terra-cotta shards there is one fragment which must be eliminated from the Roman remains; for, notwithstanding its ruddy hue and embossed ornamentation, it differs widely in age and character from the accompanying Samian ware. This fragment is a portion of the side of a teapot, of that beautiful and rare fabric made at Dresden called red porcelain, red Saxon china, and Böttcher ware, after its inventor John Frederick Böttcher, who died in 1719. Though designated "porcelain", it is really nothing more than a fine stone ware, formed of a brown clay obtained in the neighbourhood of Meissen. The fabric closely resembles that of the old red teapots of Japan, and is not unlike the "red Egyptian ware" of Wedgwood, which seems to have been suggested by the red pottery of the Elers.

Mr. Chaffers has given an account of this kind of pottery in his useful work on *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*, published in 1863, pp. 174 *et seq.* The first attempt of Böttcher was to produce a red ware like jasper, which being cut and polished by the lapidary was afterwards gilt by the goldsmith.

Referring to the remarks of Mr. Wright in regard to the Roman pottery exhibited by Mr. Kell, the Chairman embraced the opportunity of congratulating that gentleman upon his having been selected to translate into the English language the *History of Julius Caesar*, by the Emperor Napoleon III, and upon his rapid and successful completion of the undertaking. It was a matter of no little gratification to the Association to have had their Secretary for Foreign Correspondence appointed to so important a work, for which, however, his intimate acquaintance with Roman history and antiquities eminently qualified him. Mr. Wright gracefully acknowledged the compliment so deservedly paid to his labours by the Chairman and Associates present.

MARCH 22.

N. GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

Mrs. George Gow, Woodville, Forest Hill.

Miss Fulem, ditto.

The Chairman communicated to the meeting the melancholy intelligence of the sudden decease of their most highly respected and learned associate, the Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne, M.A., which took place at his rectory, Holdenby, Northamptonshire, on the 11th of the present month. Several members bore testimony to the zeal manifested by Mr. Hartshorne in the pursuit of historical and antiquarian information, and to the able manner in which he treated the various subjects brought under his notice, especially at the Congresses of the Association. It was unanimously resolved "that a letter of condolence be addressed to Mrs. Hartshorne and her family under their severe bereavement, assuring them of the ardent manner in which his memory will be cherished by the associates."

The Chairman, adverting to researches made at various times in the Medway, and the numerous examples of Roman antiquity therein discovered, called upon Mr. H. W. Cope to exhibit nine specimens of pottery, together with a piece of pavement, obtained in the Upchurch Marshes. Mr. Cope stated that they had been found at about the depth of eight feet below the surface, and had become the property of Mr. Chisholm Goaden, for whom they had been exhumed. This gentleman also produced some consular coins obtained from the same spot; and his observations went to verify the notices communicated to the Association some years since, and recorded in the *Journal* (vol. ii, pp. 133-140), by Mr. C. Roach Smith, with illustrations.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a charact fermail of the fourteenth century. It is of hard, white metal, the outer edge decorated with knobs, and the broad circle bearing six letters in relief, which may possibly be read as SA.V.T.IV. (St. Vitus), shewing probably the trinket to have been an amulet against the "dance" of St. Vitus and also madness.

Mr. Gunston also produced three initial brooches of pewter. The earliest (of the fourteenth century), found in the Red Lion Wharf, Thames-street, is a large M within a broad circle decorated with "eyelot holes," as in the sign of St. Kenelm in this *Journal* (xix, 98). The two other brooches are of the fifteenth century, found at Bankside: one being in the shape of a "crowned A," the other a P. Both are of elegant contour.

A further contribution from Mr. Gunston consisted of five Stuart

medals of oval form, of silver, differing from any engraved in the "*384 Medals of England*." 1, *obv.*, laureated bust, to the left, of Charles I in classic habit; *rev.*, bust, to the left, of Henrietta Maria. 2, *obv.*, crowned bust, to the left, of Charles II, dividing the letters 2 C. R.; *rev.* same as *obv.* 3, *obv.*, crowned bust, to the left, of Charles II; *rev.*, royal arms within the garter and a wreath. 4, *obv.*, bare-headed bust, to the right, of CAROLVS SECVNDVS; *rev.*, dove and olive branch within a wreath (engraved). 5, *obv.*, crowned bust, to the left, of Charles II dividing the letters C. R., beneath PACE TRIVMPHANE; *rev.*, bust, to the left, of Katherine of Braganza; before her a crown, above FVTVRI SPES. A short time since Dr. Palmer exhibited the half of a heart-shaped silver locket with crowned bust of Charles II; and Mr. Gunston now produced a perfect one from the same mould, displaying on its back a bust of Katherine of Braganza. To these Stuart relics Mr. Gunston added linked buttons of pewter with crowned bust of Charles II to the left.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a letter from the Rev. T. Carteret Maule, Rector of Cheam, announcing some discoveries made in removing a portion of the old church at that place. On Feb. 23rd the workmen came upon a stone coffin lying east and west; the cover formed of Purbeck stone, the rest of oolite. On removing the cover, which was much broken, a perfect skeleton came into view; and by its head was placed a pewter chalice and paten, indicating the remains to be those of an ecclesiastic.¹ There were also found fragments of vestments and a buckle. By the side of the coffin lay another skeleton without any trace of enclosure; and beneath the coffin a third skeleton, which was also without covering of any kind. These remains were met with below what appears to be an old stone floor of the tower, and over which was laid sand and a tile pavement. The old church of Cheam presents many interesting features to the antiquary. Here were interred, among other notables, John Lord Lumley and his first wife, Jane, daughter of Henry Earl of Arundel, who died in 1577. She was famed for her translations of the *Iphigenia* of Euripides and some of the orations of Isocrates. It is gratifying to record that every care is being taken of the various brasses, mural tablets, etc., which are being placed in the easternmost portion of the old edifice, in a private chapel formerly belonging to the Scarborough family.

Mr. Pettigrew forwarded the following notice of a Roman tessellated pavement found at Colchester. The communication was in reply to an inquiry by the Treasurer of the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, a well-known and able collector in Essex, whose attentions to the Association at their late Congress were most gratifying, and duly acknowledged:

"I delayed replying to your letter of the 3rd inst. until I could obtain

¹ Some notices of the discovery of pewter chalices occur in the *Gent. Mag.*, May, p. 332, and July, p. 512, 1785; Dec. 1788, p. 1047.

enclosed drawing of the pavement recently discovered. It will give you a much better idea of its appearance than any description of mine could do. As you will perceive, it is only a fragment, and when entire must have extended about twenty feet in each direction, and possibly more. We have since found portions of pavements of a more common description in the immediate neighbourhood, and evidently belonging to the same building. These are formed of red tesserae, each about an inch square, or about four times the size of those in the figured pavement. The average depth from the surface was about two feet and a half. It was about thirty feet inside of the western Roman wall, or about a hundred yards to the north of the Roman guard-house on the Balkan Hill, which was visited by the Association in August last. We are still carrying on our excavations, and I suppose there will be some account of our discoveries in the *Trans.* of the Essex Archæological Society."

Mr. Pettigrew laid upon the table three specimens of torques forwarded to him by Miss Margaret Westmacott, belonging to Colonel Luttrell of Badgworth Court, Somerset, which were found by a labourer on the estate of — Phippen, Esq., at Wedmore, about forty years since. They were put away soon after their discovery, and have remained undisturbed and unexhibited. Having been found in the same field, presenting a variety of type, and in a perfect condition, they are remarkable, and worthy of being recorded and figured. (See plate 12.) They severally consist of yellow bronze; and two of them (figs. 2 and 3) are what are denominated "screw-formed," and resemble others found in the same county, at the Quantock Hills, as described and illustrated by C. J. Harford, Esq., in the *Archæologia*.¹ The largest specimen now exhibited, from Somersetshire, measures seven inches and a quarter; and the smallest, six inches in diameter. The remaining example (fig. 1) is of the ribbon character, and measures full six inches in diameter; the strip of bronze, before being twisted, having been nearly three-eighths of an inch in width. This specimen bears a resemblance to an example figured in the *Journal* for 1861 (vol. xvii, p. 211), communicated, with other antiquities from Lanarkshire, by our associate, Mr. Adam Sim, found at Culter, and is described as the twisted circlet. Its diameter did not exceed four inches. The material in this example was of gold.

The exhibition gave rise to a conversation in which Mr. Syer Cuming took a distinguished part, making extensive references to the different kinds of torques that had come under the notice of the Association.²

¹ Vol. xiv, plate xxiii, p. 94. Our associate, Mr. Henry Durden of Blandford, is in the possession of some similar examples obtained at Spetisbury, Dorset, a few years since.

² The enumeration of these may be serviceable to those engaged in such

Fig. 2.

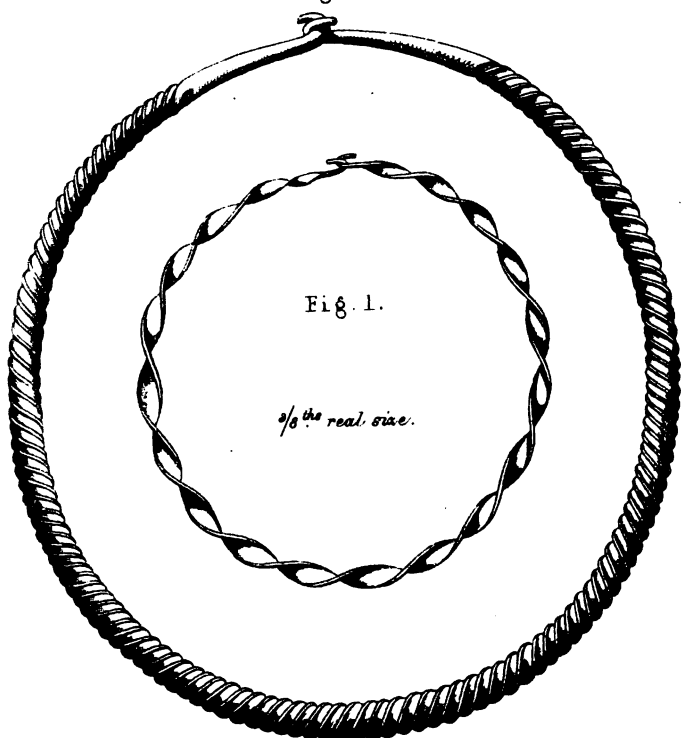


Fig. 1.

3/8 the real size.

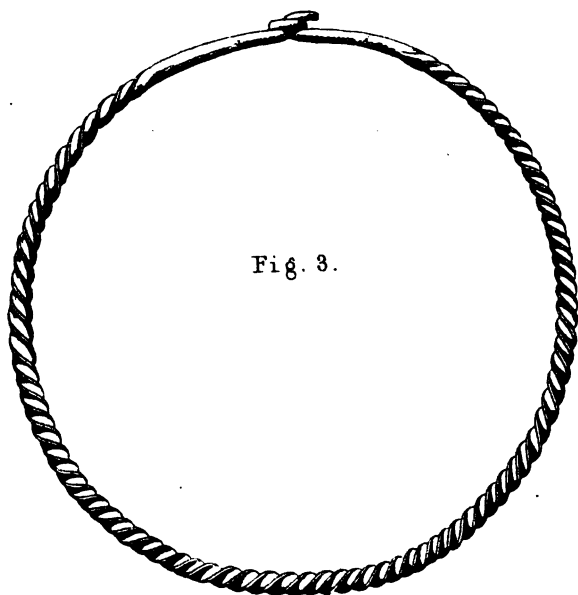


Fig. 3.

Fig. 2 & 3. are 1/4 real size.

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He remarked that examples in gold, electrum, silver, and bronze, had been found in this country; and that according to Herodian they had been made by the tribes of North Britain in iron.¹ Our late associate, Mr. Thomas Bateman of Derbyshire, in his *Ten Years' Diggings* (pp. 193, 200), has drawn attention to an example which, if it is to be regarded as of the same kind of ornament, was composed of another metal, namely that of lead, and found in 1845 in a field called the "Borough Hole," near Wetton, North Staffordshire. It consists "of two semicircular bars of lead perforated at both ends, as if intended for a collar meant to be tied together when round the neck."

APRIL 12.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

Josiah Cato, Esq., of Kendal House, Vassall Road, North Brixton, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Author. On the Forgery of Antiquities, by John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A. 1865. 8vo.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 73. 1865. 8vo.

" " Journal of the Royal Dublin Society. Nos. 32 and 33. 1864-5. 8vo.

" " Archæologia Cambrensis. No. 42, third series. 1865. 8vo.

" " Canadian Journal. No. 55. 1865. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for April 1865. 8vo.

The following letter from Mrs. Hartshorne in reply to a vote of condolence passed by the Association on occasion of the lamented decease of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., was read and directed to be printed in the *Journal*.

Holdenby Rectory, March 30th, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. PETTIGREW,—It seems almost as if I were ungrateful for the kind and gratifying letter you have sent me, in not replying to, and thanking you for it sooner; but I trust you will believe me, that I have not been able to write until now.

The sudden and terrible blow with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit me, was so overpowering, so utterly unlooked for, that we were stunned and almost stupified by it. But I am now able to turn to my

research, and the particulars will be found in the *Journal*, vol. ii, 95, 96, 343, 349, 357; iii, 153, 154; iv, 321; v, 333; vii, 185; xiii, 333; xv, 226; xvii, 211. These were found in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

¹ In *Vita Severi*, iii, 46.

many sources of comfort and the mercies still left me. Among these, the sincere sympathy of the friends of my dearest husband must ever hold a foremost place, and the expressions of their sorrow and regret at his loss, be amongst my consolations. I am, indeed, much indebted to the members of the Association who have so kindly desired to convey to me, through your pen, their feeling testimony to the worth of one so dear to me. And I should feel very glad if you can assure them how very deeply I appreciate their kindness. To yourself, my dear sir, I must make a still warmer acknowledgment, for all your kind words and friendly wishes for me and mine, and beg you to believe that my thanks are sincere, and that I must ever value the friendship of one who was so much esteemed by my dearest husband.

With my kind regards and thanks to Lady Dillon and your family,

Believe me, dear Mr. Pettigrew,

Yours very sincerely and obliged,

F. M. HARTSHORNE.

Mr. J. T. Irvine called attention to some portions of inscribed Roman bricks discovered within Berkeley Church, Gloucestershire. The first was met with at or near the base of one of the nave columns; and on the 22nd of March Mr. Irvine took out of the church wall two other pieces which, when joined, form a brick or tile eleven inches and three-eighths by eleven inches and a quarter, and about one inch and a half thick, giving the legend in full—DECL. VI, the first two letters being conjoined. Mr. H. Syer Cuming suggested it to have been the work of the x Cohort of the vi Legion—*Decuma Cohors Legionis Sexti*. At Caer-leon many bricks have been found impressed with the mark of the II Legion; at York, with that of VI and IX Legions; and in London both bricks and tiles were marked PR. BR. LON—*Prima (Cohors) Britonum Londinii*.

Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., in the course of a discussion which ensued, remarked upon the frequency with which Roman materials were found in mediæval buildings, and observed that the Normans also made bricks, and that he entertained no doubt those seen at the late Congress in Colchester Castle were Norman. As regards the specimen from Berkeley Church, Gloucestershire, he thought no examples of the sixth Legion had been found further south than York.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a statuette three inches and three-quarters high, representing a naked figure with crested helmet and hunting knife hanging from a belt on the left side. In the right hand is placed the head of a boar; in the other, a bearded human head. This effigy was purchased at the sale of the collection of the late E. Litchfield, of Cambridge, who had exhibited it—"Roman bronze, London." Mr. H. Syer Cuming thought it an Italian work of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited what is conjectured to be a portion of a hook of the exact size and form of the specimen from Halstock, Dorset, engraved in the *Journal* (xix, 215). The latter is of silver; but the present example is of bronze, the face sculptured with runic-knots, etc., the hollow parts probably were once filled with nigellum. Found in Chinnor churchyard, Oxon.

Mr. Clarence Hopper exhibited impressions of three seals of fine execution. 1. Vesica-shaped, in the centre, within a circle, a monk's head to the right, above and below trefoils. Legend, + s. THOME DE CLIMPINGE SACERDOT. The brass matrix appears to be the work of the close of the thirteenth century, and was found at Amberley, Sussex. 2. Circular seal of the end of the thirteenth century, of the Order of the Sisters of St. Victor in Utrecht. It bears an equestrian nimbed effigy of the Martyr, with his shield and the housings of the horse decorated with large crosses. Legend, s. SORORI. ORDINIS. SCI. VICTORIS. I. TRAIECTO. 3. Shield-shaped seal of the beginning of the fourteenth century. Device, a seated figure of the Virgin, crowned, nursing the infant Jesus, before whom kneels an ecclesiastic. In the field, AVE MARIA. On the verge, s. ALEXANDRI DE ASTELEYA CLERICI.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., exhibited the iron barrel of a fetter-lock of similar character to one engraved in the *Journal* (ix, 157, fig. 3). It was found under a house at Winchester; also an iron key of the seventeenth century, stated to have been discovered beneath Winchester Cathedral, and reported to have belonged to the audit-room in the time of Cromwell. He likewise exhibited a Chinese clasp-knife of the last century, the wooden handle of which was mounted with brass. This was said to have been picked up at Netley Abbey.

Mr. Josiah Cato exhibited the effigy of a musician above eleven inches high, carved in oak and once probably forming part of a series of minstrels on the front of a large piece of furniture of the sixteenth century, formerly in Brandenburg House, Hammersmith. The figure wears a broad flat bonnet with feather, short-sleeved loose doublet reaching halfway down the thigh, very full hose secured above the knees, and shoes cut high in front. He holds a long conical instrument to his lips, much like that played on by the image described in the *Journal*, xvii, 54, and both of which may be compared with the one seen in the hands of the fifth figure in the Minstrel's Pillar at St. Mary's Church, Beverley. In every instance the instrument appears to be the oboe, hoboy or hautboy, called in early times wayght or wait, from the employment of which by the Christmas serenaders they acquired the denomination of *waits*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming pointed out the bare arms as a somewhat peculiar feature in Mr. Cato's figure, but produced an image nearly three inches and a quarter high representing a minstrel with his arms

bare to the elbows. This figure is seated on an architectural scroll, and wearing a rather close-fitting cap, hooded mantle, full hose buttoned down the side, tight stockings and buskins. He holds a ram's horn to his lips, with several finger-holes along its upper side. This curious little minstrel is the work of the sixteenth century, and carved out of a piece of pink gypseous alabaster painted in part with black, red, brown, and green, and gilded.

Lord Boston exhibited two elegant crutch-handles of walking-sticks of about the end of the seventeenth century. The one, two inches and a quarter wide, carved out of rich red coral, represents the heads of a camel and a collared dog emerging from a bivalve-shell. It is of fine Italian work, and formerly surmounted a palm-wood stick. The second specimen, three inches and five-eighths wide, is from China, and wrought of beautiful wax-coloured amber. At one end is the head of a blunt-nosed dog, so frequently seen in Chinese productions, the other end is hooked, and on either side in the centre are wings of five feathers which look very like nautilus-shells.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming also exhibited three walking-stick heads. The earliest, of the time of Charles II, was recovered from Fleet Ditch, July 1847, and is of impressed horn, the convex top being covered with a sort of engine-turned pattern, the sides reeded perpendicularly, and surrounded by ornamental bands. 2. The upper part of a vine stick, the knots forming a grotesque head set with glass eyes, *temp.* George I. 3. Crutch-handle of white Dresden porcelain representing a classic bust with a helmet formed of the head of a goose, measuring five inches and a half from end to end. This specimen must be numbered among the earliest and finest works produced during the directorship of Höroldt, who succeeded Böttcher at the Meissen manufactory in 1720.

Mr. Powell exhibited a Chinese glazed brick, and of an L shaped section. It was obtained from a porcelain tower at Nankin. Mr. Roberts remarked that recently in England stone had been cut in that form to economize material in facing buildings. He suspected the Chinese example had been so made with a similar intention; namely, to erect a building first of a less expensive character, and after it had fully settled to face it with these bricks, which otherwise would be ruptured by settlements, and to prevent a more equal shrinking in the brick itself, than might take place if it were solid. The use of the brick would be to build it on a ledge of either brick or any other material on the face of the wall.

Mr. Gordon Hills coincided with Mr. Roberts in the opinion he had expressed. The brick is of a reddish hue, covered with a white glaze. Mr. Cuming stated the tile exhibited by Mr. Powell to vary in colour from all other specimens he had seen from China, and exhibited the

fragment of one from Canton, the substance of which was white throughout.

Mr. Gordon Hills, in the absence of Mr. Pettigrew, read a paper on recent discoveries in the Church of Bradford-on-Avon, intending to shew that the sculptured sepulchral figure therein found was of Agnes de Aulá, relict of Reginald de Aulá, thirteenth century. The paper gave rise to considerable discussion, and Mr. Hills illustrated the interlaced ornament found on some slabs in the church by reference to what he had met with in Ireland, producing drawings of the same to be added to Mr. Pettigrew's paper.

Mr. Thomas Wright said it was not at all uncommon in MSS. of the fifteenth century to find interlaced ornaments; and Mr. Cuming observed it was of frequent occurrence in Spanish MSS. as late as the seventeenth century.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., said that in Galway and the South of Ireland there is a strong Spanish element in buildings; but Mr. Hills showed that it was a mistake to suppose there is anything Spanish in Galway. Mr. Blashill stated that Mr. Skidmore, of Coventry, supposed the interlacing work to have been derived from ancient specimens of gold work of various kinds.

APRIL 26.

DR. JAMES COPLAND, F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., of St. Matthew's Rectory, Friday-street, was elected an associate.

Mr. J. T. Irvine presented an etching made by him of illustrations of Orcadian antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Lord Boston exhibited an intaglio in calcedony, a Gnostic amulet with intaglio on each side, of yellow jasper; and a minutely carved cherry-stone, of a head lying in a charger. It is of fine execution, and of the sixteenth century. Mr. Syer Cuming alluded to various cherry, plum, and peach-stone carvings forming rosaries, which were in the Duchess of Portland's museum, etc., some of which had been stated to have been executed by Benvenuto Cellini.

Lord Boston also exhibited a disc of glass enclosing a stag pursued by a spotted dog, in gold leaf, and backed with ruby coloured glass. It is of German workmanship, and belongs to the seventeenth century.

The Rev. Mr. Simpson exhibited a horizontal quadrant dial of brass, of the close of the seventeenth century, inscribed on the reverse face, "Trin. Coll. Cant., ex dono Tho. Scattergood, Arm." It was purchased

at a marine store-shop in the country, and lately presented to the exhibitor.

Mr. Greenshields exhibited a Florentine poniard of the sixteenth century, the gilt hilt of which represented a gigantic crane standing on a human skull, across the front of which is a broad ribbon, and on one side an hour-glass, on the other a bunch of hemlock; the three objects forming the cross-guard. It was contained in a richly silver-gilt sheath with Gorgon's head, serpent imbibing poison from a chalice, etc.

Mr. Halliwell, F.R.S., exhibited a ponderous halbert of the time of Elizabeth, the metal part weighing three pounds four ounces and a half.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., read the following paper, and exhibited rubbings of brasses in Tideswell Church, Derbyshire, which gave rise to a prolonged discussion by the author of the paper, Mr. Cuming, the Rev. Mr. Simpson, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Blashill, and others. The execution of the brasses was assigned to the middle of the sixteenth century.

"ON BRASSES IN TIDESWELL CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

"These rubbings were taken from the monuments in the church at Tideswell, a market town deriving its name from an ebbing and flowing well in the neighbourhood, in the hundred of High Peak, thirty-three miles from Derby. The manor of *Tideswell*, at the date of *Domesday*, was a crown manor. Afterwards it belonged to Peverells. In 1205 it was granted by King John to '*Thos., armiger*,' and his heirs. The Daniells, who had a confirmation of the grant of the manor in 1304, from King Edward I, are stated to have been his descendants. In 1330 it was vested in the coheiresses of Daniell. Elizabeth Meverell, one of these coheiresses, died in 1337 seized of a third of it. The whole manor ultimately came to the Meverells. Through them it came into the possession of the Cromwells; and ultimately was bought by the Duke of Devonshire, to whom it now belongs.

"The church is of the middle of the fourteenth century. The earliest brass is that over Sampson Meverell. The tomb is of altar-form, open at the sides; and under the slab lies a figure of Meverell, recumbent, at full length, clothed in a shroud. The inscription is as follows: 'Under thys stone lyeth Sampson Meverell, which was borne in Stone, in the feast of St. Michael the Archangell, and there chrystened by the Pryor of the same house; and Sampson (Meverell ?) of Clifton, Esq.; and Margaret, the daüer of Phillipp Stapley, in the yeaere of our Lord ^{xx} mccciiiviii (?); & so lived under the service of Nicholl Lord Audley and Dame Eliz., his wife the space of xviii years and more; and after by the assent of John Meverell, his fader, he was wedded in Belsor, '*the kings man*' (?), the daüer of the wors'p'l knight Sir Roger Leeke, the xvii day of Pasche; and after he came to the service of the noble Lord

John Mountegu, Earl of Salesbury, the which ordayned the said Sampson to be a capetaine of divers wors'p'll places in France. And after the death of the sd. Earl he came to the service of Tho. Duc of Bedford; & soe being in his service, he was at xi great battayles in France within the space of two yeares; & at St. Luce the said Duc gave him the order of knighthood. After that the s'd Duc made him Knt. Constable, & by his com'aundement he kept the constable court of this land till the death of the sd. Duc; and after that he aboade under the service of John Stafford, Archbyshoppe of Canterburye; and so endureing in gr't worshipp, departed from all worldly service unto the mercy of our Lord Jesu Christ, the which d'v'd his soul from his body in the feast of Mar.... in the yeare of our Lord MCCCXII; & soe his worke may be prouved, that grace paseth cunning. Amen. Devoutly of your charitye saye a *Pater no'r* with an *Ave* for all Xtian soules, & espesiale for the soule whose bons reste under this stone.'

"In the centre of the brass is a figure of the Trinity, with the Holy Ghost as a dove on the right shoulder of the Father. The emblems of the four Evangelists are in medallions at the four corners, with four scrolls, each with the inscription, 'Ego sum alpha & omega.'

"The second brass is also a slab over an altar-tomb above the monument of Robert Pursglove, Bishop of Hull 1579. He was the last bishop, and retired on a pension from the crown. He founded the Grammar School of Jesus still existing at Tideswell. Round the slab is the inscription:

'Crist is to me as life on earth, & death to me is gaine,
Because I trust thro' him alone salvation to obtain.
So brittle is the state of man, so soon it doth decay;
So all the glory of this world must fade & fall away.'

'This Robert Pursglove, sometime byshoppe of Hull, deceased the 2 day of Majj, the yeare of our Lord God 1579.'

"On the sides of the upright slabs of the monument, underneath the brass, is carved the following quaint inscription:

'Under this stone as here doth ly a corps some time of fame,
In Tyddeswell bred & born truely, Robert Pursglove by name;
And there brought up by parents care at schole & learning trad,
Till afterwards by uncle deere to London he was had;
Who Wm. Bradshaw hight by name, in Paul's which did him place,
And y're at shole did him maintaine full thrice 3 whole years space;
Ande thereuntoe the *abbeye* was placed as I wisse,
In Southwarke called, where it doth lye, St. Mary's Overis.
To Oxford then, who did him send unto that College right,
And there fourteen years did him find, Corpus Christi hight.
From thence at length away he went a clerk of learning great,
To Gisborne Abbey straight was sent, & placed in prior's seat.

Bishop of Hull he was also, Archdeacon of Nottingham,
 Provost of Rotheram College too, of York eke Suffragan.
 Two Gramer Schools he did endow with land for to endure,
 One hospital for to maintain twelve impotent ypoor.
 O Gisborne, then, with Tiddewell town, lament and mourn you may !
 For the said clerk of great renown lyeth here compact in clay.
 Tho' cruel death hath now down bro't this body which here doth lye,
 Yet trump of fame thy son (sound) be nought to sound his praise on
 high.'

' Qui leges hunc versum crebro reliquum memoreris,
 Vile cadaver sum, tuque cadaver eris.' "

The meeting was adjourned to the 10th of May, at half-past 4 P.M., for the election of the officers and Council for the ensuing year, statement of accounts, etc.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 10.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

The Auditors submitted the following report and balance-sheet of the Treasurer's accounts for the past year:—

" We, the Auditors of the British Archæological Association, appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, have the satisfaction to report that we have performed that duty and inspected the proper vouchers. The receipts during the year 1864 have amounted to £476 : 7 : 3, and the disbursements to £450 : 0 : 11, leaving a balance in favour of the Association to the amount of £26 : 6 : 4. There are no outstanding debts of any description against the Association; but several subscriptions to the Society, and for parts of its publications, are due. The state of the Association is in all respects satisfactory. There have been elected during the past year fifty-five Associates, whilst fifteen have withdrawn and thirteen deceased. Four Associates have been so long in arrear that the Council have felt it necessary to recommend the removal of their names from the list. The communications to the Society have been both numerous and valuable, and a continued increase of members is alone requisite to put forth still more extended publications. Great exertions are making to insure a successful Congress at Durham in August next, under the Presidency of His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, K.G., and many local antiquaries of great eminence have already announced their intention to read papers and illustrate the antiquities, with which they are most familiar.

We cannot close this report without expressing our regret at the state of ill health which, during the past year, has afflicted our Treasurer,

and trust that it may become so improved as to render him capable of paying the Association that attention which has hitherto been so beneficial to its interests. We gladly agree with the proposition to relieve him of some of the duties of his position by the appointment of Mr. Gordon M. Hills as Sub-Treasurer. The valuable services of that gentleman at the meetings of the Society, especially at the Congresses, and his valuable papers published in the *Journals* and in the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, augur well for the continued prosperity of the Association.

May 9th, 1864.

WILLIAM YEWD, }
R. HANNAH, } *Auditors.*

Associates Elected 1864 :

George Tomline, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Carlton-terrace
Gustavus W. Hamilton, Esq., 48, Huskisson-street, Liverpool
William Powell, Esq., 27, Bucklersbury
Herbert W. Taylor, Esq., 2, Wallbrook
John Westby Gibson, Esq., 5, Warren-street, Pentonville
John Cordy Wootton, Esq., Ealing
Donald Nicoll, Esq., West End Park, Kilburn
William Collins, M.D., 1, Albert-square, Regent's Park
Rev. Frank Hudson, Caledonian-road
Hartley W. Burgess, Esq., 16, Wallbrook
J. A. Bone, Esq., Monument Chambers
Rev. Thomas Anderson, M.A., Felsham, Suffolk
Robert Ferguson, Esq., Morton near Carlisle
George Leslie, Esq., Birchfield Lodge, Edge-lane, near Liverpool
John Brighouse, Esq., 34, George-street, Hanover-square
Stuart M'Naghten, Esq., Bittern Manor near Southampton
J. Kirke, Esq., 32, Harley-street
Rear-Admiral Sir George N. Broke-Middleton, Bart., C.B., Suffolk
Augustus Goldsmid, Esq., F.S.A., 1, Essex Court, Temple
S. Wilton Rix, Esq., Beccles
Godfrey Wentworth, Esq., Woolley Park near Wakefield
John Kelk, Esq., 80, Eaton-square
George E. C. Bacon, Esq., Ipswich
The Ven. Archdeacon Ormerod, M.A., Rendenhall Rectory, Harleston
John C. Cobbold, Esq., M.P., Ipswich
Hugh F. Adam, Esq., M.P.
William P. Hunt, Esq., Ipswich
Sterling Westhorpe, Esq., Ipswich
F. M. Drummond Davies, Esq., Temple
Hon. and Rev. F. De Grey, Copdock Rectory, Ipswich
Rowland Fothergill, Esq., Hensol Castle, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire
Rev. H. A. Holden, D.C.L., Ipswich
Rev. J. P. Sill, M.A., Wetheringsett, Suffolk
Rev. Thomas Mills, M.A., Stutton Rectory, Suffolk
F. Corrance, Esq., Parham Hall, Suffolk
J. P. Fitzgerald, Esq., Boulge Hall, Woodbridge
Lord Henniker, M.P., Grafton-street
Rev. E. C. Alston, M.A., Donnington Rectory, Wickham Market
Edward Grimwade, Esq., Henley-road, Ipswich
Rev. Henry Canham, B.C.L., Waldringfield, Woodbridge
His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, K.G., Raby Castle

Hector M'Lean, Esq., Carnwath House, Carnwath, Lanarkshire
 C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq., Trin. Coll., Oxford
 Robert Webb, Esq., 6, Manor-terrace, East India-road
 Rev. Albert Daymond, College, Framlingham
 Mark Dewsnap, Esq., M.A., Barnes Common
 Wellwood Maxwell, Esq., M.A., Glentee Park, New Galloway, N.B.
 Captain Horrex, 11, Royal-crescent, Notting Hill
 Captain Woodall, T.Y.C., Albemarle-street
 John Johnston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne
 John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., Stelling Hall, Northumberland
 Rev. W. Purton, M.A., Stotterdon near Bewdley
 William Whincopp, Esq., Woodbridge
 Rev. Thomas Finch, B.A., Morpeth
 John Harker, M.D., Lancaster

Associates Withdrawn :

Rev. J. C. Macdona
 J. S. Pidgeon, Esq.
 J. J. Chalk, Esq.
 Rev. John James, M.A.
 Charles White, Esq.
 H. W. Buxton, Esq.
 Lord Arundell of Wardour
 Rev. J. W. Collins

Henry Gaze
 J. B. Winsor, Esq.
 John Millard, Esq.
 Edwin Hickey, Esq.
 Henry Lee Jortin, Esq.
 Lady Frankland Russell
 Rev. J. B. Hughes, M.A.

Associates Deceased :

Alfred Thompson, Esq.
 Peter Murray, M.D.
 Capt. W. Eardley Amiel, R.N.
 George Edw. Wentworth, Esq.
 Jacob Fred. Young Mogg, Esq.
 John Charles White, Esq.
 Charles Wentworth Dilke, Esq.
 J. D. Holdforth, Esq.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
 K.G.
 Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S.,
 F.S.A.
 Right Hon. Thos. Erskine
 David Roberts, Esq., R.A.
 James Heywood Markland, Esq.,
 D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Associates recommended to be Removed for Non-Payment :

Mrs. Bellamy . . . 4 years
 Cornelius Carter, Esq. . . 4 years
 T. F. Fearnside, Esq. . . 4 years
 Wilson Pearson, Esq., LL.D. . 4 years.

The recommendations of the Council to elect two additional Vice-Presidents, and to create the office of SUB-TREASURER, were unanimously agreed to.

Thanks were voted to the Auditors for their services, and to the Treasurer especially for his continued attention to the Association.

Thanks were likewise voted to the President, Vice-Presidents, other office-bearers, and Council, for their services during the year.

Also to the authors of papers, exhibitors of antiquities, etc., during the session.

A ballot was taken for officers and Council for 1865-66, and the following returned as elected :

PRESIDENT.

THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM	NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.
THE LORD BOSTON	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
THE LORD HOUGHTON	J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Rouge Croix</i>
SIR CHAS. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.	SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS

SECRETARIES.

H. SYER CUMING. EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A.

EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palaeographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEORGE G. ADAMS	GEORGE VERN IRVING, F.S.A. <i>Scot.</i>
GEORGE ADE	THOS. W. KING, F.S.A., <i>York Herald</i>
THOMAS BLASHILL	JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.	WM. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
AUGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A.	RD. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.
W. D. HAGGARD, F.S.A.	J. W. PREVITÉ
J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.	GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.
	C. F. WHITING

AUDITORS.

JOHN KIRKE

CHARLES H. SAVORY.

The obituary notices of associates deceased during the year were laid upon the table by the Treasurer, and the same directed to be read at the evening meeting of the 24th of May.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the meeting adjourned.

The Chairman, in responding to the vote announced that the Annual Congress for the year would be at Durham, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, K.G.; and he hoped the associates would attend in large number, to view and discuss the numerous objects of great interest which would be laid before them on this occasion.

Obituary for 1864.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P.

MR. ALFRED THOMPSON, of Belgrave-road, Pimlico, was a founder and civil engineer, and joined us as an Associate in 1856. He took much interest in our proceedings, was a frequent attendant at the public meetings, exhibiting and taking part in the several discussions and bringing to bear upon the subjects under consideration no inconsiderable practical knowledge. His first communication recorded in the *Journal*,¹ was on a leaden water-pipe dug up in Old Broad-street, City, in 1854. The specimen, which has been engraved in the *Journal*, presents a joint of a curious description unlike to any of modern times, and offering an appearance similar to what is observed produced by lines marked on Roman tiles. Mr. Thompson suspected it to be one of the ancient conduit pipes supplying London from the "Tunne" in Cornhill, where, according to Stow, "in the year 1401 was made a cisterne for sweet waters conveyed by pipes of lead from Tybourne, and was from thenceforth called the Conduit of Cornhill"; or perhaps a branch supply-pipe to some minor conduit in the vicinity. It is, however, not improbable that it may have supplied "The Monastery of St. Augustine", situated in the locality where it was found.

In 1856 Mr. Thompson exhibited a singular portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, and detailed many particulars relating to the figures of Her Majesty, which will also be found in the *Journal*.² In the same year he produced a fine miniature of Queen Henrietta Maria, and in the succeeding year exhibited a curious pair of brass nut-crackers of Italian workmanship of early period, being a production of the sixteenth century and one of the earliest yet noticed.³ In 1859 we had four communications from Mr. Thompson. The first was an exhibition of a wrought and elegantly designed brass mortar five inches and a half high, with dolphin handles and the legend "Soli Deo Gloria, 1630", which has not unfrequently occurred on objects of this kind.⁴ The second exhibition was of a finely chased watch-case, apparently the work of G. M. Moser. It is barely two inches in diameter and has representations of flowers, scrolls, a seated female figure, and three standing warriors.⁵ The third was an example of what are now rare objects in enamel, the product of Battersea workmanship; three oval plaques representing pastoral scenes are arranged so as to form a bracelet: they are in black and

¹ Vol. xi, p. 73.

² Vol. xii, pp. 244-47.

³ Ibid., vol. xiii, p. 251.

⁴ Ibid., vol. xv, p. 268.

⁵ Ibid., p. 288.

typify Love, Harmony, and Fidelity. A fourth plaque is in red, larger than the black specimens, and curious as exhibiting the adaptation of the fabric to various purposes by the arrangement of the design prior to its application to the paste. The last object exhibited was a purse of the time of Louis XV, in which the earliest form of the *porte-monnaie* is preserved. With this communication I regret to say Mr. Thompson's labours in connexion with our Association terminated, an attack of paralysis incapacitating him for future exertion. A renewal of the attack on the 4th of January, 1864, terminating his career at about the age of forty-five years. He will be remembered by us for his gentleness of demeanour and his readiness to impart information. He served as a member of Council for some time and was punctual in the execution of his duties.

PETER MURRAY, M.D., of Scarborough, was a well-known physician in the neighbourhood in which he resided, and universally esteemed for his benevolence and general kindness of nature. Few have been more sincerely mourned and few have been so deservedly entitled to remembrance and regret. He was a native of Jamaica, born March 30th, 1782, so that dying on February 27th, 1864, he had nearly completed his eighty-second year. He was the son of a physician who also acted as Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court at Jamaica. At an early age he was sent to England for his education, which was most carefully superintended by his relations. His medical education was obtained at London and Edinburgh, and he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at nineteen years of age on the 24th of June, 1802, at the University of Edinburgh. In London he commenced practice and was elected Physician to the Finsbury Dispensary, whence he removed to Knaresborough, there enjoying an extensive practice for twenty-three years. His health gave way under the fatigue of professional life, and he withdrew to Scarborough in 1826, where he remained till his decease, devoting himself to scientific pursuits in general, but especially to natural history. The public institutions of Scarborough all received from him a liberal measure of support, and some would doubtless have failed but for his attention and exertions.

Although Dr. Murray lived to a good old age it is to be feared that an accident hurried on the term of his useful existence. At the laying of the foundation stone of Claremont Chapel, a platform erected for the occasion gave way, and Dr. Murray with others sustained injury by the fall. Disease began to make inroads upon a naturally healthy constitution sustained by temperate habits and due mental exercise. Symptoms denoting the presence of angina pectoris appeared, and he speedily sunk, dying in the arms of an old and faithful servant, whose attachment to his master and assistance in his pursuits were in no little degree remarkable. Although Dr. Murray was an honorary member of

the Yorkshire Literary and Philosophical Society and devoted much of his time to the study of archæology, geology, and botany, we have no paper from him recorded in our *Journal*, of the pages of which he was a most constant and attentive reader from the establishment of our Association to the time of his decease. He communicated to me at the time of holding the Congress in 1863, at Leeds, intelligence of the capture and punishment of the noted forger of antiquities at Bridlington, which gave no little satisfaction to the members assembled.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM EARDLEY AMIEL, R.N., joined our Association in 1857, and served as auditor in 1861. He was born at Cheltenham, March 5th, 1792, and died on the 3rd of April, 1864, having thus attained the age of seventy-two years. He entered the navy in 1803 and saw a variety of service in different parts of the world on board the *Romulus*, the *Helena*, the *Prince George*, the *Franchise*, the *Pyramus*, the *Illustrious*, the *Bucephalus*, the *Lightning*, and the *President*, with Captains Locock, Dashwood, Sir Samuel Hood, Reynolds, Doyle, and Duff, being present at the capture of the *Sancta Leocadia*, the reduction of the Fort of Samana, St. Domingo, the operations on the River Gironde, and lastly had the command of the Semaphore Station at Kingston. These services will be found particularised and recognised according to their merits in the naval, biographical, and historical publications.

He was twice married; first to Martha, daughter of M. S. Moore, Esq., of St. James's-place; and, secondly, to Margaret Anne, daughter of the Rev. Wm. Morgan, D.D., Rector of Aston Clinton, Bucks, and granddaughter of the late Wm. Minshall, Esq., of Boreton-house and Aston Clinton. This lady possesses much taste for historical research and archæological pursuits, and, through her husband, made various exhibitions of coins, medals, medalets, etc., of interest. The *Journal*¹ contains an account of some of the most curious, among which is one with a purposed alteration in date in the reign of Charles II. Captain Amiel frequently attended our meetings and was much esteemed for the kindness of his manners and the zeal he displayed in the proceedings of the Association.

GEORGE EDWARD WENTWORTH is a name of frequent occurrence in the late *Journals* of the Association. This gentleman was of a distinguished family, being descended from the ancient stock of Wentworth Woodhouse, of the county of York. In Domesday and in the old charters the name is spelt Winteworth, and in this way by common people at the present day it is still pronounced. The lands of Wentworth Woodhouse continued to be the seat of the family and descended from father to son in an unbroken series till the succession failed in the

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 287.

male line with William, the second Earl of Strafford, when the junior scions of the family founded in several instances houses of rank and influence, among which was Wentworth of Woolley, the ancestor of our late member. The present head of this house, father of the late George Edward Wentworth (his second son), was the son of the member for Tregoney in Parliament, a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who served the office of high sheriff in 1796. This gentleman has honoured the Association by taking the place of his lamented son in the list of our Associates, in recognition of the gratification he had experienced in labouring with the Association and contributing to its publications. There are circumstances of a most melancholy nature in connexion with our late member, who was a young man of great promise, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in appearance presenting a very handsome personage, as a photograph I possess demonstrates. I mention this, as in the course of a research connected with geology, he unfortunately fell into a lime-kiln, suffering such injury that it is remarkable his life should have been spared. Henceforth, he devoted himself closely to his studies in his closet, and it is astonishing the pains he must have taken to effect the perusal of the early charters and other documents, so numerous at Woolley-park, some of which have already appeared in our *Journal*, and will be succeeded by others which are in store for future publication, as opportunity offers. These I shall have the pleasure of laying before the Association.

At the late Congress at Leeds, Wakefield was one of the towns of interest visited, and there, as well as at other places during the Congress, the members had the gratification of meeting their fellow member who, under aid, was enabled to take a tolerably active part in the proceedings. Prior, however, to the Congress we had received from him several communications; for in 1859 I find we have printed a transcript of a letter addressed to "Mr. Wentworth and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants at Leeds," of the date of Nov. 13, 1715, from Preston, connected with the troubles of the civil wars.¹ Again, a letter from General Lambert, in relation to the Castle of Knaresborough.² In 1860 he contributed the copy of an order issued during the plague in 1665, addressed to the constables of Barnesley, etc., pointing out their several duties;³ and some documents against Papists and sectaries, with letters from the Duke of Buckingham from Wallingford House.⁴ In 1861 he exhibited various charters, inquisitions, etc.⁵ In 1863 Mr. Wentworth laid before the Association pleadings in an action at Nisi Prius, 31st Edw. III, *in re* Joan Voy v. Sir Peter de Maulay of Doncaster, knight;

¹ Journal, xv, p. 289.

² Ibid., p. 361.

³ Vol. xvi, p. 310.

⁴ Ibid., p. 340.

⁵ Vol. xvii, pp. 71, 72.

also an inquisition *post mortem* in regard to the estate of the same Joan Voy, and remarks on Sir P. de Maulay.¹ In the last volume of the *Journal* (that for 1864) we have an excellent paper "On the Town and Manor of Wakefield and Sandal Castle,"² and another "On Old Heath Hall."³ The last communication hitherto printed consists of a deed of William, the second Earl of Warren, and Isabel his countess, relating to a chantry in Pontefract Church, referred to by the late Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., in his notice of the Pontefract chartulary.⁴

From the foregoing enumeration of labours executed under such difficulties and physical infirmity, it will be seen how much we have lost by the decease of our associate. His worthy father writes to me that the quantity of papers and old documents left by his son is truly marvellous; that he used to write amazingly by himself, and made extracts without end. The collection I have is by no means inconsiderable, and I shall endeavour, as speedily as the state of my health and leisure will permit, to give them a place in our *Journal*. It remains only to state that our associate departed this life on the 7th of April, at the age of thirty-two years.

JACOB FREDERICK YOUNG MOGG, of Midsomer Norton, Somerset, was brought up for the legal profession, and joined our Association upon occasion of our Congress held at Bridgewater. He attended other Congresses, and took an interest in the success of the Association. He forwarded to me a very fine copy of the seal of Richard Duke of Gloucester as Lord High Admiral of England; of which, and of those of others filling the same high office, together with various illustrations, I have given a particular account in the *Collectanea Archaeologica* (vol. i, pp. 171-181), published by the Association. He published a disquisition entitled *An Essay on the Art of Heraldry*, which passed through two editions. Mr. Mogg was the son of Dr. Charles Mogg of Weymouth and of Farrington Gurney, Somerset, and died May 14, 1864, after a very short illness, at the early age of forty-five years.

JOHN CHARLES WHITE of Gloucester-place, Portman-square, a gentleman extensively connected with mercantile pursuits, and of very varied information, joined our Association in 1851, and was, as long as his health permitted, an attendant at our Congresses, where, by the amenity of his manners, he was found to be a most agreeable associate. The literary taste and diversified information of his amiable lady tended in no little degree to increase the pleasure derived from his association, and on several occasions they contributed objects to the exhibitions at our evening meetings. Some of these have been considered worthy of being described and engraved in the *Journal*. In 1855 Mrs. White produced

¹ Vol. xix, pp. 133-136.

² Vol. xx, pp. 120-136.

³ Ibid., pp. 260-262.

⁴ Ibid., p. 329.

from her cabinet four fine specimens of Roman coins, one¹ of which was an *as* struck in Sicily by the sons of Pompey the Great. This presents an almost contemporary portrait of the proud rival of Cæsar. In 1860 an early bone carving of much interest was submitted to us for examination. It is unquestionably a work of the twelfth century, and represents the Saviour nimbed, and seated on a rainbow. The right hand is in the act of benediction, and the left reposes on the Gospel. This curious object was exhumed in a garden belonging to the rectory of Leckhamstead, Bucks, where formerly there had been a convent. It is figured in the *Journal*.² In the same year an abbey-piece, found at Canterbury, of the fifteenth century;³ a beautiful little patera in Samian ware, ornamented with the ivy-leaf, found at the Moat, Higham, Kent; a paalstab found at Llangollen; and a leaden figure of the Saviour on a crucifix, found in a sewer at Clerkenwell, near St. John's Gate, of the fifteenth century, and of rude execution. Many other objects were exhibited in the course of the year, in metal, ivory, and wood; all described in the *Journal*.⁴ They are of interest, offering specimens of Roman keys, early iron keys, from Bucks; bronze animals, plaques, etc.; a German coffret of gilt metal, engraved with figures of birds, scrolls, etc.; a leaden cloth-mark of the time of Charles II, found in the Thames; watch, brass seals, etc.; in ivory, an interesting specimen of a brace or bracer used by an archer to guard the left arm from injury by the bow-string. It is engraved with arabesque borders surrounding a figure of the martyrdom of St. Silvester, the patron of archers, and has the date of 1589. Wrought in elephant's tusk is the lower half of a Hindoo sacred box, having four subjects carved thereon, namely, a leonine mask, a two-headed bird, a head of Ganesha, and a unicorn mammal with crested back and long tail. A sculpture in wood, boat-shaped (a work of the seventeenth century), presents sacred subjects,—the adoration of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, St. Hubert, and the cruciferous stag. The workmanship is French, and bears the name either of the artist or the owner, A. Petit, with the date of 1663. Of late years the health of our associate failed, and he became unable to attend the Congresses. After much suffering he died on the 31st of July 1864, at the age of seventy-eight, most highly esteemed and respected by a very large circle of friends.

CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, well known in the literary world, died at Alice Holt near Farnham, on the 10th of August 1864, at the age of seventy-five years. Mr. Dilke's connexion with our Association arose from the part he took in the exposition of the *forgery of anti-quinities*. The members of this Association are aware how zealously our

¹ *Journal*, vol. xi, p. 255.

² Vol. xvi, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁴ Vol. xvi, pp. 336-338.

Honorary Secretary, Mr. Henry Syer Cuming, has laboured to detect, expose, censure, and destroy this iniquitous practice. Our *Journal* contains almost innumerable notices of the discovery of these frauds, and the manner in which they had been executed. We have good reason to believe that our efforts to put down such practices have been at least very successful, even if they have not been adequate to the entire suppression of the traffic; but as long as persons can be found who will readily purchase these pseudo antiques, so long will the pursuit be maintained. It certainly is not the fault of our body if rogues are countenanced in their fraudulent enterprise, for our notices have been so frequent as really to become irksome. At one of the meetings of our Association some specimens of forgeries were exhibited. Mr. Cuming was loud in his exposure and condemnation of them; and I drew up a report of what had passed at the meeting, and forwarded it to the *Athenæum* for insertion as a part of the proceedings of the Association. This was in the year 1858, and the paper may be seen in the *Journal in extenso*, together with other communications on the subject.¹ The publication of my report gave rise to a notice of action against Mr. Dilke as the proprietor of the *Athenæum*; and another was also served upon me as the writer of the article inserted in the *Literary Gazette*, a copy of that which had appeared in the *Athenæum*. The cause, "Eastwood v. Dilke," came on for trial at Guildford, and was speedily put out of court by the learned judge (Willes) who presided on that occasion. No inconsiderable expense had, however, been incurred in preparing for the defence of the case; and this Mr. Dilke most generously took upon himself. The Association, to mark the sense they entertained of Mr. Dilke's liberality, felt that the least they could do was to enrol Mr. Dilke as an honorary life member of the Association. The letters which passed on this occasion, and the particulars of the proceedings, are recorded in the *Journal*.² Much as has been done by this measure towards checking the nefarious practice, it is yet to be regretted that sufficient encouragement is still afforded to sustain it, though in a very diminished degree.

Mr. Dilke commenced his career as a clerk in the Navy Pay Office, occupying his leisure hours by a devotion to literature. In 1814 he published, in six vols. 8vo., a selection of old plays; and he subsequently became a contributor to the *Retrospective* and the *Westminster Reviews*. On the consolidation of the Public Offices, Mr. Dilke became the purchaser of the *Athenæum*, which had hitherto not been a very successful undertaking, established by the late Mr. Silk Buckingham. By his zeal and capacity for management, this publication has risen to the chief eminence of its kind; and for more than twenty years Mr.

¹ *Journal*, vol. xiv, pp. 348-350, 353-355.

² Vol. xv, pp. 265, 266.

Dilke devoted a large portion of his time to its progress. In 1846 he ceased to act as Editor upon becoming the Manager of *The Daily News*, contributing only occasionally to the pages of the *Athenæum*. The promotion of arts, science, and literature, has been the aim of Mr. Dilke in his extended career, in which he has been successfully followed by his son, one of the most active labourers in the Great Exhibition of 1851, afterwards appointed by Her Majesty one of the five Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1862, and has since received the honour of a baronetage.

JAMES D. HOLDFORTH, of Caley Hall near Leeds, was zealous in promoting the success of our Congress at Leeds in 1863, and joined us as an associate. We have to lament his early loss on the 1st of October last. No contribution to our pages has been received from him during the very short period of his membership.

On the 18th of October last the country had to sustain the loss of HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., at the early age of fifty-three. The events of his life are matters of public history, and known to all. In whatever situation His Grace has appeared, it has been to his advantage, displaying ardent patriotism and unwearied zeal in the public service in matters too recent to need specification, and equally familiar to all the members of the Association as to myself. His Grace's connexion with our body, however, requires notice; and the expression of our sorrow for his loss is demanded. In 1852 he presided over the Nottinghamshire Congress held at Newark,—a Congress distinguished by visits to places of remarkable interest. The advantages we experienced by his attendance in our examination of the locality were of the utmost importance; and all who attended on the occasion will never fail to recollect with the greatest pleasure the enjoyment they experienced under His Grace's presidency. The eighth and ninth volumes of our *Journal* contain the chief parts of the proceedings of this Congress, commencing with an elegant inaugural discourse from the President.¹ As long as the Duke of Newcastle was able to be with the Association (for he was obliged, by the decease of the Duke of Hamilton, which occurred during the Congress week, to retire to Clumber before its conclusion), nothing could surpass his attention to the members, and the objects for the consideration of which we were assembled. The excursions to, and examinations of, Nottingham, Thurgarton, Newstead Abbey, Worksop, Clumber, Lincoln Cathedral, Southwell, Hawton, Stafford Abbey, etc., were all abounding with interest; and we were received by the noble and honourable owners of the several properties in a very distinguished manner. Nothing, how-

¹ Vol. viii, pp. 163-172.

ever, could surpass the elegance of His Grace's reception of us and entertainment at Clumber. It left an impression upon the mind of every one present which cannot be effaced.

His Grace's regard for the Association did not cease with the termination of the Congress: it was continued, and whenever opportunity offered, assistance was rendered to us. His Grace became a life member and made to us many valuable suggestions. The duties of public life, the weight and responsibility of high offices in the state, however, occupied the whole of his time during the latter years of his life, and we have in common with all our fellow countrymen deeply to regret the loss of an eminent statesman, a man of unsullied character and unblemished reputation. It is, however, much to be feared that the anxieties inseparably connected with the labours of high office tended to shorten his existence. That his career should have terminated at the early age of fifty-three is matter of serious regret. His sufferings were very great, and he has often expressed to me the severe torment he endured from violent pains of the head connected with inflammatory disorder of the most acute kind.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS ERSKINE, a younger son of the Lord Chancellor Erskine, died at the age of seventy-six, at Bournemouth, Nov. 9th, 1864. He had been in bad health for some time; but imbued with the genius and ardour characteristic of his illustrious father, (with whom I had the happiness of living on terms of intimacy and friendly intercourse for many years) and, benefiting by an education of the highest order obtained at Harrow and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, his time was passed in devotion to a strict course of extensive reading, especially in history and antiquities. He was born March 12th, 1788, graduated M.A. in 1811 and embraced the profession of the law, was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1813, and obtained the rank of King's Counsel in 1827. Upon the establishment of the Court of Review in Bankruptcy in 1831, he received the appointment of Chief Judge, and was made a Member of the Privy Council. In 1839 he was transferred to the Court of Common Pleas; but in 1845 was under the necessity of resigning, from the ill state of his health, occupying the remainder of his life in the performance of the duties of one of the Commissioners of the Duchy of Cornwall. He resided for some time after his retirement, at Compton near Petersfield, on the borders of Sussex and Hampshire, where his name will long be remembered for his liberality, which led to the restoration of the parish church in 1847. Afterwards he removed to Fir Grove, Eversley, Hants, doing much good in his immediate neighbourhood, where his decease is greatly lamented.

On the same day—namely, the 9th of Nov., 1864, the Association sustained one of the heaviest losses it has hitherto experienced, in the

death of HUDSON GURNEY, Esq., an Associate from the commencement of our institution, one whose advice and safe counsel were always given under every difficulty, and supported by much generous assistance. The history of Mr. Gurney's family is in no little degree curious, and that appertaining to his branch (the Keswick) interesting. As I have, however, given this at some extent in my paper "On the House of Gournay," printed in the second part of the second volume of the *Collectedanea Archæologica*, lately published by the Association, it is unnecessary to make a repetition in these pages. There remains, indeed, little more for me than to declare and deplore the great loss we have sustained—a loss in common with many other institutions; for Mr. Gurney was a liberal benefactor to, and supporter of, all useful undertakings. His name is to be found associated with the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Linnæan Society, the Royal Institution, the Horticultural, Zoological, Botanical, and Geographical Societies, many foreign bodies, and, indeed, with all establishments promising to be effective for good in the advancement of knowledge and the happiness of mankind. Public or private bodies, associations for special publications, such as the Camden, the Percy, the Ælfric, the Spalding, the Royal Asiatic, etc., received his aid; whilst to assist individuals in the promotion and publication of various works esteemed by him essential to the public good, his ample purse was ever at command, and its contents most liberally bestowed. I could enumerate many instances of large donations frequently determining the fate of several literary undertakings, to some of which I had the happiness to be his messenger of good tidings. To detail these, however, would perhaps in some instances be a breach of delicacy towards individuals now living, or their relatives, whose feelings deserve to be regarded. It is impossible to enumerate the good done by Mr. Gurney publicly and privately, the latter to an extent that would almost appear fabulous; but his means were large, and as he himself told me, he never in any one year expended the amount of his income. No case of distress was ever represented to Mr. Gurney without receiving his assistance; no one departed from his door without bestowing a blessing on the generous man within its walls by whom their necessities had been relieved. Although an invalid to a very serious degree during a great part of his life, he yet happily lived to an advanced age, completing ninety years within a period of two months. He was born on the 19th of January 1775, and died Nov. 9th, 1864.

In a work¹ published by me now a quarter of a century ago, I printed a biographical sketch of the celebrated philosopher and physician Dr. Thomas Young, one of the most extraordinary men of his

¹ Medical Portrait Gallery: Biographical Memoirs of the most celebrated Physicians, Surgeons, etc., who have contributed to the Advancement of Medical Science. 4 vols. royal 8vo.

time, and to whom many most remarkable discoveries in literature and science are to be attributed. With this gifted man Mr. Gurney pursued a large part of his education. He cannot be said to have been educated by him, for there was the difference only of about two years in their ages; Mr. Gurney was rather selected to read with Mr. Young, and be his constant companion and friend. It is not a little singular that in both these instances their education was not derived from an attendance at a public school—it was obtained by private tuition and individual application. Mr. Young's case was most peculiar. He was a genius in every sense of the word; his mind was capable of grasping any subject, however small or however extensive. At fourteen years of age he was well versed in seven languages in addition to his own, being familiarly acquainted with Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic. Mr. Gurney exhibited powers of a different character, and manifested high intellect and critical attainments. Mr. Gurney and Mr. Young were both inmates in the family of Mr. David Barclay, the maternal grandfather of Mr. Gurney. The proposed arrangements for tutors, under Mr. Barclay's roof, were not in all respects successful, the principal result being that derived from the care of Mr. Hodgkin, the author of the *Calligraphia Græcia*, who had the most particular direction of their studies. It may, however, be readily conceived that Mr. Gurney's inheritance to great wealth furnished different motives for study from those of his friend. Mr. Young directed his powers to scientific researches, pursuing them with an unconquerable ardour and the deepest devotion; whilst Mr. Gurney rather amused himself with the study of letters, philosophy, general history, etc., as accorded with his own disposition and taste. The Greek authors appear throughout life to have constituted his favourite objects, and it is remarkable that his attachment to the character was so great as to lead him to adopt it, for the remainder of his life, for the handwriting in the greater portion of his diaries, memoranda, etc. *The Life of Dr. Young*, by the late Dean of Ely, offers many interesting particulars relating to the course of study adopted by these two remarkable men, and shews that each followed the bent of his own inclination. To Mr. Young it was necessary that he should work and carry out the line of his intended professional career, which led to the many discoveries he made in science and also in literature. He has left an imperishable name in the former by his researches on light, and in the latter by the marvellous discovery of the key to the hieroglyphical language of Egypt—a discovery afterwards followed out with wonderful power and success by Mons. Champollion. In this brief sketch of the life of Mr. Gurney, it is necessary for me to confine myself more especially to his connexion with our Association. At the time of our establishment, the latter part of 1843, he was on a bed of sickness. He was at that time the chief Vice-President of the

Society of Antiquaries, and I formed the medium of communication between him and the President, the late Earl of Aberdeen, his friend through life, and fellow-traveller in holy and classic lands. No two men of purer taste and more correct judgment could probably be found; and Mr. Gurney's representations served completely to remove from the noble lord's mind the fears he had entertained that some detrimental consequences might accrue to the Society of Antiquaries from the exertions of the British Archaeological Association.

Mr. Gurney was the first to make a donation to the Association, and he continued to befriend it to the last. It will ever be to me a source of great satisfaction that I was enabled, after the Ipswich Congress of 1864, to pass three weeks under his hospitable roof; this occurring only two months prior to his decease. An uniformly kind friend to me for a period of not less than forty years, I am under the necessity of controlling the feelings I entertain in my expressions of regard and veneration for him. On more than one occasion, in matters of difficulty, I have profited by his sage advice. At his table you met with all that were eminent in the arts and sciences; all who were distinguished by their labours in the pursuit of knowledge, or zealous for the promotion of human happiness. Mr. Gurney's philanthropy was unbounded, and to do good was the uniform object of his life. One, not an infrequent visitor at his house, a dear friend, held in the highest regard by all who have the honour of his acquaintance, Professor Sedgwick of Cambridge, writes thus to me in relation to the loss we have experienced:—"Many a happy day have I spent at Keswick. I knew dear old Gurney well from the year (1834) I became canon of Norwich. His kindness, *dry* humour, unostentatious hospitality, keen judgment (sometimes dished up in odd crotchets), and his incredible grasp of literary information, made him a charming companion. He never failed you. And he was the only man I knew at Norwich well enough to go often to dine with self-invited. There is no one to supply his place." His peculiarities alluded to in this extract, were, I think, the natural result of his education, and of the absence of regular system in it. He was quick and lively, prone to criticism and discussion, but always in a spirit of the most unbounded kindness. His grandfather was proud of his young relative, and encouraged him to question every proposition made at his table, and rejoiced often at his grandson's display. Thus exercised at an early period of life, he was led to a habit of questioning every thing. He seemed never to agree with you. He was sceptical in the highest degree; but its object was rather an indulgence in the habit created by his education, than any love of victory. The information, however, derived by him from this practice must have been considerable; for at Norwich, at this period, there were many very remarkable men distinguished by their high literary attainments, Bishop Middleton, Dr. Samuel Parr, Dr. Alderson, William Taylor, and others.

It is very much to be regretted that Mr. Gurney did not set himself to any literary work of a permanent character. What he did was mere amusement; but it serves to show what he could have done had necessity compelled him to exertion. The earliest object of Mr. Gurney's solicitude as an author is to be found in a book almost unknown, having been printed at different times, in various portions, and privately distributed. It is entitled *English History and Chronology in Rhyme*.

It was in 1799 that Mr. Gurney privately printed a translation, or rather an imitation in English verse, of the mythological tale of Cupid and Psyche, from the *Golden Cross* of Apuleius. The versification is very elegant. Mr. Gurney had a very correct ear for rhyme; and this exercise must be read with great pleasure. His lines to Sleep are most happily expressed:

"O SLEEP! sweet friend of human kind!
 Whose magic chains all joy to wear;
 Who, soother of the afflicted mind,
 Strew'st roses on the bed of care,
 "Thou now o'er PSYCHE'S fluttering soul
 Benignly shed'st thine opiate charms:
 Spell-bound she owns thy mild control,
 Soft cradled in thy downy arms;
 "Till, wafted on his winnowing wings
 To a fair vale's sequester'd bowers,
 ZEPHYR the unconscious maiden brings,
 And lays her on a couch of flowers."

This has been thrice printed, and also inserted in Davenport's *Poetical Register*. It is illustrated by two engravings,—one from a Marlborough gem, the other from Raffaele's design on the same subject. In 1843 he privately printed an English translation, made by him in 1808, of portions of the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, and the excellence of the execution leads one deeply to regret that he failed to complete the work. The verse is in imitation of the style of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*.

To the duties of the chair of the Society of Antiquaries Mr. Gurney paid a very close attention, and he contributed some papers to the *Archæologia*,—"Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry";¹ "On the Seal of Ethelwold, Bishop of Dunwich, discovered at Eye in Suffolk";² "Description of a Thumb-Ring with the inscription *Constanti fides*, found in Poringland in Norwich";³ "An Account of a Celt-Mould, Celts, and Weapons, discovered at Eaton";⁴ "Extracts from the Hall-Books of the Corporation of Lynn Regis from 1430 to 1731";⁵ "A Proclamation of Henry VIII on his Marriage with Anne Boleyn, found in the Corporation Records at Norwich";⁶ "On the Casts of Eight Punic Inscript-

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, pp. 359-370.

² Vol. xx, pp. 479-483.

³ Vol. xxi, p. 547.

⁴ Vol. xxii, p. 424.

⁵ Vol. xxiv, pp. 317-28.

⁶ Vol. xxv, pp. 119-21.

tions discovered at Carthage,"¹ the portion assigned to Mr. Gurney as the return for his payment of subscription in aid of excavations made, the originals of which were presented by him to the British Museum.

No subscription was ever entered into for the promotion of antiquarian discovery, to which he did not give his ready aid ; and the many hundreds of pounds contributed by him to the Society of Antiquaries for the publication of Anglo-Saxon works, have not publicly received the acknowledgment which such liberality so eminently deserves. He retired from the position of Vice-President of the Society in 1846, when it was my gratification to move the thanks of the Society, and the insertion of a record of the great services he had rendered, to be entered in their *Transactions*.

Antiquities connected with his own locality in Norfolk always claimed his attention ; and when our Association assembled in Congress at Norwich, he was generous in his support of the meeting, and contributed his paper on the *Venta Icenorum* for the consideration of the members.² Mr. Gurney was a great supporter of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and also of the Museum and Literary Institution. Other members of his family have been alike munificent in their assistance.

In addition to his attention to public institutions, he for six successive parliaments sat in the House of Commons, and nothing gave him greater satisfaction than serving on general committees. To those on private matters, admitting of personal applications, he had an equal abhorrence. With his enormous wealth he could well afford to be independent, and he was such in the strictest sense of the word. His Diary contains many curious relations connected with his parliamentary experience. Mr. Gurney was held in great respect by the House ; and his judgment on subjects of currency, public records, weights and measures, much esteemed. His voice was unfortunately very weak, and his physical powers in general too feeble for parliamentary labour ; it was therefore in committees chiefly that Mr. Gurney's services were most valuable to his country.

In 1809 Mr. Gurney married Margaret, the daughter of Robert Barclay, Esq., of Ury, who was heiress of line to the Earls of Airth and Monteith. The proceedings in Parliament in regard to this peerage occupied much of his attention in 1855, it being claimed by Mr. Gurney's brother-in-law ; but the claim was unsuccessful. Mrs. Gurney was a person of strong sense and charitable disposition. She did great good in her sphere of action. She died in 1855, at the age of seventy-five, leaving no issue. Mr. Gurney's immense wealth has descended principally to Mr. J. H. Gurney, late M.P. for Lynn, who devotes considerable attention to natural history and other congenial studies. He has

¹ Archæologia, vol. xxx, p. 111.

² See *Journal*, vol. xiv, for 1858.

great knowledge of the history of birds, and has presented a very valuable museum to the Norwich Institution. We have the honour of his name in the list of our associates.

Mr. Gurney's remains were conducted to their tomb with all due respect by the public bodies of his county; very numerous friends, together with those who had been recipients of his bounty, formed a large retinue of real mourners. His bequests to the members of his family and to charitable institutions are many. He had two libraries, one in St. James's-square, London; the other at Keswick Hall, near Norwich. They are directed to be preserved. I regret that his diaries, books of extracts, memoranda, etc., are forbidden to be made public for half a century. At that period no one will be found capable of editing them with justice or advantage. Being full of personal anecdote and allusions, they need some one familiar both with Mr. Gurney and the circle within which he moved, to render them useful. From what I have seen of them, I am disposed to consider this an unfortunate arrangement.

It remains to state that there are portraits of Mr. Gurney by Opie and Briggs at Keswick.

DAVID ROBERTS, R.A., most eminent in the arts, joined our Association at its establishment, served on the Council, and attended several of the Congresses. Few artists could lay more deserved claim to eminence, in regard to their illustrations of architectural antiquities, than our late most lamented associate. His paintings of interiors are without an equal, not only of the present day, but of former times, and are of themselves quite adequate to carry his name down to posterity as an artist of extraordinary power and merit. Of himself it may be truly said that he was not less amiable as a man than eminent as an artist. He was a native of Stockbridge, Edinburgh, being born there Oct. 24, 1796. He was seized on the 25th Nov., 1864, whilst walking in Berners-street, by a fit of apoplexy; conveyed to his residence in Fitzroy-street, and in the course of a few hours ceased to live. From the moment of attack he was insensible. Agreeably to his own frequently expressed desire, his funeral was private, and he was interred in Norwood Cemetery. Those who knew Mr. Roberts well, duly estimated his works, and, looking at their specific character and peculiar excellence, desired that his remains should have been laid with other eminent artists, West, Opie, Fuseli, Lawrence, etc., in the cathedral of St. Paul's,—the last subject, indeed, on which his pencil was engaged,—to form part of a work which now remains unfinished. He evinced, as so many other great artists have done, a disposition to drawing from a very early period of his life, and was not unfrequently reprimanded for the damage he was esteemed to have inflicted upon the walls of the schoolroom and other places.

In 1810 Mr. Roberts was apprenticed to a decorator resident in Edinburgh; and during this period he painted a view of Abbotsford, which attracted the attention, and gained for him the high approbation of its immortal owner, Sir Walter Scott, Bart. The estimation in which the novelist held this work, induced him to recommend Roberts to paint scenes for the theatre at Edinburgh and also at Glasgow. This laid the foundation of the painter's career, for he had no teacher. The freedom he enjoyed in making such compositions, the opportunity afforded for the full scope of his imagination as well as to the liberty of his pencil, served effectually to promote his success in life. The proprietor of the Edinburgh Theatre gave him a recommendation to Mr. Elliston of the Theatre Royal, Drury-lane, where he was immediately engaged. His efforts were most successful. The scenery became an object of curiosity and attraction, and large audiences were drawn to witness some of their marvellous effects. The rapidity with which he could cover large surfaces was truly astonishing. Many anecdotes of his wonderful achievements in his department are on record. The same may be said of his most dear and intimate friend, Clarkson Stanfield. It may truly be said that no two artists better, or so well, understood the effects of light as these two eminent men. The last time I had the happiness to meet these two dear friends was at the Great Exhibition of 1862, where, in the admirable picture gallery, they discoursed on the direction of the rays of light, and the quantity required to set off every painting in the gallery to advantage. From them I learnt that the light should come from above, through an entrance precisely one-third of the width of the building; by which no light is lost, and every corner and portion of the walls are illuminated. They both declared to me that they had derived this knowledge from the experience of their early life as scene-painters.

Mr. Roberts was no less successful in his efforts for Mr. Mathews' well-known entertainment, "At Home." These paintings created a powerful sensation in London, and marked out our artist for holding a prominent place in a higher position of art. At this time Mr. Roberts was scarcely more than twenty-seven years of age, full of vigour, possessed of great physical as well as mental power, with an eager eye for every thing presented to his view; which, added to his precision in arrangement, and his observance of strict order in all his undertakings, enabled him to get through a mass of work truly astonishing. Apparently always at ease, never in a hurry or confusion, he was yet hard at work making drawings innumerable,—many scarcely ever seen but by himself,—serving only during the last week, at a sale of his remanets, to produce an amount of no less than £16,425. His love of order and admirable method led him to keep an account of all his productions, with memoranda relating to their purchasers or possessors, the sum produced by

their execution, and anecdotes of the fate that attended many. It is a very curious and interesting work, comprised in two volumes 4to., and may be consulted by the young artist with great advantage.

In 1825 Mr. Roberts went to Rouen, and painted Notre Dame. This was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1826, and led to his future course. He travelled in France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Holland, accumulating vast treasures. He also visited Egypt, Nubia, and Syria, making sketches for complete and extended publications too well known to need even an enumeration. His last work is of a very extraordinary character, being intended to exhibit pictures of metropolitan scenes that will soon flit from our memories. To represent London as it now is is a vast undertaking, and the method pursued by him has been thus detailed: "Having chosen his locality, and the point of view to be dealt with, he made a sketch, sufficiently accurate for his purpose, on the spot. In carrying out this rudimentary idea his peculiar ability in art was displayed; his knowledge of composition came fully into play in the arrangement of the moving objects which appeared in his pictures, and in the disposition of the light and shade which pertained to it as a whole. From the sketch thus obtained and studied, a small oil picture was wrought, to give a general idea of the effect and disposition of colour and tone to be afterwards adopted." This has been the ordinary mode of proceeding; but it appears that in one or two of the series in hand Mr. Roberts dispensed with the oil sketch, and proceeded at once to work on the canvas which was to be the field of his picture when completed. Ten of the series have been made, and their general order settled. On the morning of the day of his decease he had been painting at one of the London pictures. It represents St. Paul's and Ludgate Hill, taken before the railway viaduct marred the site, and from a spot a few yards westwards of Bride Court. The dome of the cathedral and the spires of the churches are grouped to compose finely. The picture is broad and grand in the disposition of light and shade, the whole street filled with shadow, the high edifices in full light. There is much yet requisite to be done to the work. When he quitted his studio for his last walk, the picture stood upside down on the easel,—a practice he and other artists often follow to study its effects.

We have no communication from Mr. Roberts in our *Journals*, but we have often derived benefit from his suggestions. No companion could be more delightful at a Congress than the artist, no one appeared to be better acquainted with the period to which the several buildings belonged, and no eye was more acute to point out their peculiarities. I had the happiness to enjoy his friendship for many years, and a more sincere and valuable friend never existed.

The last obituary notice for 1864 is of another old and highly esteemed friend,—a man of high literary taste, of great general information, and refined manners. Few were better known in a certain circle distinguished by great taste and extensive reading, than JAMES HEYWOOD MARKLAND, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. He was descended from a good family, said to have been one of the twenty concerning whom Queen Elizabeth ordered the Bishop of Chester to take heed that they sent not their children abroad to be brought up in the popish persuasion. Our late member was seventh in descent from Raufe Markland, who sat in Parliament for Wigan about 1529. The family held lands from the time of Edward III. Mr. Markland's eldest uncle took the name of Entwistle, and inherited the Foxhole's estate; whilst the second son, Mr. Markland's father, who succeeded to the Pemberton estate, was a merchant, and married in Manchester, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Hibbert. Mr. Markland was his youngest and fourth son, born Dec. 7, 1788.

His disposition had from the earliest period been manifested for the church, and he used to read to the servants the daily services. He was educated at Chester Grammar School; and one of his most favourite occupations was to go round, examine, and describe the cathedral. He paid early attention to heraldry, and collected together fragments of old family deeds. Although his predilection for the church was strong, he was, however, destined for the law. During his necessary course of study, however, he did not fail to cultivate literature, especially early English, in which he obtained a great mastery. In 1807, at the age of eighteen, he published a little tract entitled *A few Plain Reasons for adhering to the Church*, and he wrote the life of Mason in the *Censura Litteraria*. He was now reading with a conveyancer, entered the Temple, and began to practise the profession of the bar. In 1814 he was appointed parliamentary agent for the West India planters; and in 1831 he received a handsome testimonial of plate for his services. He took great interest in all institutions connected with the Church, and eminently promoted their welfare. Antiquities also became an especial object of his attention, and he was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1809. He was a good attendant, and was for many years the Director. The *Archæologia* was then regularly put forth, and he displayed much taste in the illustrations, as well as judgment in the selection of the papers. Cooperating with Mr. Gurney and the Earl of Aberdeen, the objects of the Society were carefully attended to.

Mr. Markland was one of the original members of the Roxburghe Club, and he survived all those who established the society. His lively conversational habits, together with his great acquaintance with books, rendered him a desirable associate with such men as the Earl Spencer,

Mr. Heber, Sir Francis Freeling, Bart., Mr. George Hibbert, Mr. Dent, the Rev. Dr. Dibdin, etc. The last book presented by Mr. Markland to the Club was edited by him in 1818, and comprised the "*Chester Mysteries*,"—a work still in high repute and value. The preface exhibits Mr. Markland's learning to great advantage. In 1816 he was elected into the Royal Society; but scientific objects were not with him matters of pursuit. The *Archæologia* contains several papers by Mr. Markland. The first was in 1815, "On the Antiquity and Introduction of Surnames in England";¹ in 1821, "On the Early Use of Carriages in England";² in 1830, "On an Inscription in the Tower";³ and in 1837, "Instructions to his Son, by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland."

In 1840 he published a letter to the Oxford Architectural Society which was afterwards printed (in 1843) as "Remarks on English Churches, and on the Expediency of rendering Sepulchral Memorials subservient to Christian Uses." This has gone through three editions, and it has been useful in regard to the restoration and embellishment of our ecclesiastical buildings. In 1836 he published a little book, "On the Sin of Lying"; and in 1846, "On the Reverence due to Holy Places," in which he has rendered good service in regard to our ecclesiastical edifices. He published also "The Prayers and Life of Bishop Ken," of which a second edition was issued in 1849; a tract "On Industry and Idleness" followed in 1858, and "The Offertory" in 1863.

In 1821 Mr. Markland married Charlotte, the eldest daughter of Sir Francis Freeling, Bart., the Secretary of the General Post Office. She survives his loss, as also does a daughter (the issue of this union), Elizabeth Jane, married to the Rev. C. R. Conybeare, vicar of Itchen Stoke, and third son of an associate of our body, the late Dean of Llandaff. Having completed his fiftieth year, he determined upon retiring from London,—much to the sorrow of his friends. The Antiquaries' Club, of which he was a most esteemed member, and of which at the time I was the Treasurer, seriously felt his absence. No one was held in higher regard, in that body, than Mr. Markland. The Rev. Mr. Conybeare tells us that the last twenty-three years of Mr. Markland's life were spent at Bath, living in a house he had purchased, on Lansdown Hill. Here his books served him in good stead, and he carried out many benevolent objects entertained whilst in London, and to which he was then unable to devote the necessary portion of time. The numerous charities of Bath, as well as its literary institutions, received from him great assistance. At Bath three sisters entrusted to Mr. Markland, under a strict condition that their name was in no way to be made known, a sum of £14,000 to promote good

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, pp. 105-111.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xx, pp. 443-447.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 405-410.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 308-358.

works. By his management this was increased by another £1,000, and the fund devoted to works of usefulness here and in the colonies. The University of Oxford, well acquainted with his benevolent character, and sensible also of his intellectual attainments, conferred upon him, at the Commemoration in 1849, the degree of D.C.L.

In antiquities, besides those articles already noticed, he published "Remarks on the Rent-Roll of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham," read at an Oxford meeting, and printed in the *Archæological Journal*; also "On Ecclesiastical Architecture," read at the Worcester Architectural Society in 1850.

I now arrive at that period in which we had the great gratification of meeting our associate at Bath during the Somersetshire Congress in 1856, on which occasion he read to us a most elegant and interesting paper, "On the History and Antiquities of Bath," printed in our *Journal*.¹ His attendance during the Congress gave the greatest satisfaction to our members, and we shall long remember the kindness he evinced towards us, and the hearty welcome we received from him at the Literary and Scientific Society's Rooms and at the Town Hall.

¹ Vol. xiii, pp. 81-97.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 183.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12.

THE Association were under the necessity of quitting Ipswich in carriages as early as 8.30 A.M., to view Helmingham Hall and Church and the recently discovered cemetery.

At Helmingham Hall the Rev. G. Cardew received the party at the principal entrance, and acted as *cicerone* to the visitors. The house is beautifully situated in an extensive and splendidly timbered park. The Hall itself is in the Early Tudor style, and is built in quadrangular form, enclosing a wide-paved, spacious court-yard. A wide, deep moat surrounds it; and there is a drawbridge at the principal entrance, which Mr. Cardew informed the company was traditionally supposed to have been drawn up every night for the last eight hundred years, and certainly for the last three hundred years. It is still drawn up every night. The company were shown through the principal rooms, after which Mr. Cardew gave a brief history of the Hall, which he said was built in the reign of Henry VIII by the second Lionel Tollemache. The Hall was probably built upon the site of an older edifice, and he traced its history back to a very early period. He found, on reference to *Domesday Book*, that it belonged to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the brother of William the Conqueror; but the site could be traced as that of a mansion long anterior to that period. The old Hall was built in the twelfth century by Sir Bartholomew Creyke. The site was probably occupied by Romans, and afterwards by a Saxon farm. In 1561 Queen Elizabeth visited the Hall, and tradition said that she stood godmother for one of the children of Lionel Tollemache. The parish Register did not, however, bear out this tradition; and after further inquiries he had found the fact to be, that Queen Elizabeth promised to be godmother to the child, but the child dying, the ceremony of baptism was performed upon the dead body, and of course no entry was made in the parish Register. A picture representing the cere-

mony was placed over the fire-place of the hall, and armour of all kinds was hung round the walls. The large dining-room—a very fine apartment—was chiefly remarkable for a collection of the old “black jacks,” or leathern jugs, in which the ale was carried to table before the use of pottery became common. The fire-place is wide, and furnished with dog-irons, upon which lay an enormous log of wood. The collection of family portraits is large, and most of them are very fine. The drawing-room and library and some of the bedrooms were visited. In one room the lute upon which Queen Elizabeth played when she visited the Hall is preserved under a glass case. This relic is undoubtedly genuine, as it was presented to the family by the Queen on leaving Helmingham, and has been handed down as an heirloom ever since. The bedroom occupied by the queen was visited; but although there is no doubt that this is the veritable room, the furniture cannot be so confidently spoken of. A fine bust of the queen is placed upon a carved oak cabinet of Flemish work which stands in the room, and several portraits are hung in the suite of rooms. In the library a manuscript copy of Alfred’s translation of Orosius is preserved, and an original copy of Caxton’s *Game of Chess*, the first book printed in England, which is kept under a glass case. In all of these rooms the wood-carving of the chimney-pieces and other parts is extremely good, and in excellent order. The floors of the principal apartments are of polished oak. The corridors leading to the upper rooms are hung with engravings, one set of which were in illustration of *Don Quixote*. The visit to the Hall ended by an inspection of the collection of china; and the party then proceeded across the park, passing by the way a fine oak, twenty-three feet in girth, to the church.

The Rev. G. Cardew here again explained all the objects of interest. The contract for building the tower, he said, is still in existence. It was signed in 1487. The sum for which the tower was to be built was £30, and the contract was between John Talmadge and certain parties in Helmingham. The tower was not finished till the reign of Henry VIII. The following inscription is carved in bold relief upon a stone band near its base,—SCANDIT AD AETHERA VIRGO PUERPERA VIRGULA JESSE (she mounts to heaven, the Virgin Mother, the rod of Jesse). The interior of the church is rich with monuments of the Tollemache family, dating from early in the seventeenth century. The monuments are all of a very high character as works of art. One of the oldest has five niched figures in the attitude of prayer, and another a recumbent figure of a knight in armour. Two of the more modern monuments are from the chisel of Nollekens, and are erected to the memory of members of the Tollemache family who were killed while engaged in the service of their country.

After leaving the church, the Rev. G. Cardew showed the ground in

which he had recently discovered remains of great antiquity in the neighbourhood of that edifice. The reverend gentleman pointed out the appearances in the conformation of the ground which led him to the conclusion that there were Roman or other remains in the neighbourhood, and then exhibited the results of his labours. Mr. Cardew has entered upon the task of discovering the suspected antiquarian treasures with great spirit. Some account of his researches has already appeared.¹ The excavations were visited, and although pressed for time, they presented sufficient attraction to make the whole party linger beyond the appointed hour. Mr. Cardew first shewed his collection of pottery found during the excavations, and next led to the collection of drawings of the skeletons, and "The Wilderness" (an enclosure on the north side of the churchyard), and last of all showed the skeletons *in situ*. The following is his account of the discoveries :

ON THE DISCOVERY OF HUMAN SKELETONS AND ANCIENT REMAINS
AT HELMINGHAM, SUFFOLK.

BY THE REV. GEORGE CARDEW, M.A.

The parish of Helmingham, in Suffolk, is about nine miles north of Ipswich. Its Hall, Church, and fine monuments are well known. The park is remarkable for its fine trees and an abundance of deer. The parsonage presents a disappointing contrast. The rectory garden is very small and uninteresting. It is flat, open, overlooked, with what may be almost termed the village pump in the middle of it. There is a redeeming corner, however,—“The Wilderness.” The part of the garden called by this name is a quarter of an acre of copse, a remnant of a larger wood of three acres and a half, which, as I find from an old terrier, once extended to Helmingham Hall ponds, and formed a portion of the glebe.

To an observant eye this retired nook is not ordinary ground. A steep bank overlooking a long deep pond is its northern boundary ; another high bank is its eastern ; and some years since a third bank with wide exterior ditch completed the enclosure on the south and west. This third bank was levelled, and the ditch filled in about twenty years ago, a gravelled walk now occupying the place of that ancient ditch. It is evident that man had well secured this little spot of ground—a portion of a wood—for some special reason. Whether the site of a small Religious House in mediæval times, or an Anglo-Saxon homestead in troublous periods, or a little stronghold in much more ancient days, or a spot cherished for some sacred object, or for hallowed association, it is impossible to say without further research ; but something besides a copse and garden of wild flowers must this well-secured enclosure have been in ages long gone by.

¹ Gent. Mag., May, 1864, p. 619. Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. xx, p. 339.

It is not easy to dig in it. The roots of trees run along the surface, and the wild flowers claim protection. There seemed only one course—to dig a narrow trench along the little paths. We commenced it—that is, myself and two silent wondering labourers called Last and Lenny, who have become associated inseparably with my diggings, and who, with many of my parishioners and neighbours, believe me to be searching for the traditional golden image, or pot of money.

The first foot of earth was removed and the second carefully inspected. At once it became apparent that we were in the track of ancient remains, for fragments of charcoal were everywhere mingled with the soil. Soon we came upon black funereal pottery, some fragments of querns, and pieces of a thick rude black pottery unknown to me; and presently some bones of animals were thrown out. We were still not more than two feet from the surface when a human skeleton was met with. It was in perfect preservation, every bone in its place, carefully deposited, a male of apparently about six feet in length, lying on its back, nearly east and west; and at its feet, buried with it, the lower jaw-bone of a pig, and the tooth of an ox. Very near this was another skeleton with a boar's tusk, horse's tooth, and pig's jaw; then a third and fourth. One of these seemed in a curved posture, and being carefully uncovered, the right arm was found to have been parted at the elbow and the severed portion buried near the feet, along with which were laid a pig's jaw, teeth of horse and cow, and a portion of the jaw and teeth of an animal that I know not. After this appeared seven or eight skeletons together overlapping each other, with a few bones of large animals.

We now retraced our steps and dug deeper, and then found we had passed over two, apparently the skeletons of a father and son; the former a full-grown man with very prominent lower jaw and teeth, the latter a child, a youth of tender years. A portion of the child's body rested on that of the older person. The pile of seven or eight was covered up and the trench continued. Presently another skeleton was met with, and immediately after, one of a very powerful frame. This remarkable skeleton being exactly in the line of the trench, could be fully shown, and strange indeed it seemed. Not only were the bones of vast bulk, but the whole frame presented the appearance of great mutilation during life or after death,—perhaps the result of a desperate struggle against overpowering foes. The head seems to have been cut off, the neck broken (one of the vertebræ buried apart), the right arm divided, the right leg also parted, even the feet seemed not in their places; and yet a glance at the firmly fixed skeleton is quite sufficient to convince any beholder that not a bone has been disturbed since the day of sepulture. The severed head had been propped up by a large flint that it might keep its proper relative position to the rest of the body.

The strange position of the members of this body could neither have been natural nor accidental.

After another skeleton and then another, not calling for special remark, a group was uncovered of peculiar interest. There were but two figures, but they seemed to tell their own tale, and it was very affecting. The father (for he could scarcely have been other), himself slain and apparently mutilated, had his right arm as if around his little son, whose body lay across his own. His child had probably perished with him! The poor little fellow had not shed his first teeth, and may have been about six years old. Some skeletons of less interest (another group excepted) succeeded, and the narrow path in "The Wilderness" came to an end.

Thus in this small trench, two feet wide and a few yards long, at least twenty-four skeletons have been found; and, what is even more striking, they are supposed to be all males; for even the two children were boys! Had we here, then, the painful evidence of a massacre of all the males of some sad settlement or tribe at Helmingham? What thoughts arise as we try to give a reality to the scene before us!—to find a life and history for these strangely revealed bones! Some questions naturally arise in respect to this singular discovery.

1. Are these the remains of *heathen* or of *Christian* inhabitants of the land? Apparently of heathen, from the following circumstances in connection with them:—

1. They were buried with the *bones of animals*, as is usual with ancient British and Anglo-Saxon interments, especially with the bones of the pig, ox, horse, and wild boar.

2. There was *charcoal* everywhere mingled with the earth that covered them, especially with that in immediate contact with the skeleton.

3. They were all buried *naked*, without a trace of wood or coffin or any covering whatever. Indeed, the relative position of some of the bodies would make the presence of a coffin simply impossible.

4. They appear to be *chiefly of men in the prime of life*, and *boys*—no women or female children as yet found among them.

5. *All the teeth* are apparently *sound* without decay. This may seem an irrelevant circumstance to mention, but I have not noticed decay in the teeth of very early interments.

6. The black funeral pottery and fragments of other ancient urns were found in the earth *above* the skeletons, nowhere below them or at their level; and the skeletons plainly had never been disturbed; seeming to prove that the bodies were of greater, at any rate of not less age than the pottery.

7. Within a very few yards of "The Wilderness," the spot in which they lie, is a field of the glebe of four acres, with *ancient British remains* (as proved by excavation) in nearly every part of it.

11. Had *these bodies any connection with the present Helmingham Church* near at hand? It cannot be, for the present (judging from the architecture) can scarcely date much further back than Henry VIII or Henry VI. But as this church was doubtless the successor of a former, *had they any connection with any older church on this spot?*

Had they been *Christian* interments they might have been connected in some way with such older church; but being *heathen* interments they could scarcely have been so. And yet an *indirect* connection they may have had in the way following.

It was not unusual, on the first conversion of a people to Christianity, to build the churches on the site of the heathen temples, or on spots held sacred by the heathen. Some of the churches in Rome were thus placed; indeed, there, even the heathen temples themselves were sometimes retained, and, with a little alteration, became Christian sacred edifices. The churches at Portchester, Dover, and elsewhere in England, are supposed to have been built on the sacellum of the Roman camp. St. Paul's cathedral, in London, there is some reason to believe, stands on the site of a heathen temple of Diana. But there are instances of this without number. The little eminence on which Helmingham Church stands, which slopes gently east, west, and north, may have been a sacred spot with our early heathen forefathers, and, on their conversion to Christianity, the first Christian church—probably of wood—may have been built on the site where, *first*, the ancient Briton had been wont to worship his mysterious deities; and *next*, the sturdy Saxon, the awful Odin, and the terrible Thor. These bodies now discovered, may have been lying peaceably near the rude heathen enclosure when Christianity was first preached to the inhabitants of Helmingham.

111. There is an appearance, as I said, of a *massacre*. When we look on these melancholy memorials, we cannot help conjecturing *when* in past time or history, when *might* have been that most woful day for Helmingham? Were these the victims of the vengeance of the *Romans* when they returned as conquerors with their exasperated legions (A.D. 60), to punish the revolted Iceni? the slaughtered bodies in "The Wilderness," perhaps Helmingham's share of the penalty for the insurrection of Boadicea? Or are they the sad traces of the wreck and ruin that *Hinguar* and *Hubba* caused through all East Anglia (A.D. 870), when those cruel chiefs, with their daring Danish warriors, made these counties a desert, and murdered the good king, in ungrateful return for the ill-judged kindness that had been shown them by the simple north and south folk? Though nominally Christianised at that time, it is just possible the Saxons in country places, far away from the towns, may still have retained some of the customs of their forefathers, such as burial with sepulchral feasts, the interment of animal bones,

etc. The ancient pottery, however, *above* the bodies, would seem to show, as I have before intimated, an earlier date; and after Hubba's ravages it is doubtful whether there would have been survivors sufficient to bury the dead so carefully. With these affecting records of ancient woes before our eyes, it seems impossible not to speculate; and yet to fix their date, except within certain limits, seems equally impossible. Further exploration, however, may throw more light on these remarkable remains. For the present the excavations are discontinued.

It is as well to add that, within the recollection of many persons living, two more ancient cemeteries have been met with in this parish, on land belonging to Mr. Tollemache, but there being no one here at the time to call attention to the matter, they passed almost unnoticed. One was on a pleasant slope facing the east, on a farm about a mile from the church, in the occupation of Mr. Fulcher, and must have been of much the same character as that now opened at the rectory. I have dug there, and found countless fragments of funereal pottery and human and animal bones confusedly mingled with the soil, the result of recent disturbance. The other was on a slight rising in the valley, on land in the occupation of Mr. Birch, half a mile from the church. In both these instances the human remains were so numerous as to require a cart for their removal; and at Mr. Fulcher's, the labourers tell me, the urns were whole when found. They were met with in operations in connection with the making of a road, and I need not say, irrecoverably destroyed.

The glebe field not much more than fifty yards from "The Wilderness," called Pond Meadow, can scarcely be dug into in any part without many fragments of ancient funereal and other pottery being thrown out, besides portions of querns, animal bones, etc. In the adjoining land, in the occupation of Mr. Posford, I have also found ancient remains, and again in the glebe field opposite the church gate. On the rising ground facing these fields there is at this moment to be seen the site of a camp or village-settlement of the Britons; perhaps, subsequently, of the Anglo-Saxons. A portion of it was broken up some years since, and the remainder will disappear this spring to make way for the steam-plough. Again, not far off, to the south of the rectory, is a remarkable tumulus with two very ancient stag-headed oak-trees on it, one of which has been pronounced to be full a thousand years old: and, on a hill towards the north-east is another large tumulus. I can perceive also almost certain indications of ancient remains in several places in Helmingham Park. These circumstances may serve in some measure to explain the presence of so many interments in the "Rectory Wilderness," whether those interments were due to a single catastrophe (as I have suggested), or were but the gradual accumulation of years.

Helmingham was evidently a favourite spot with the ancient Britons ; and it is equally certain, from its *name*, that it was an early settlement of the Anglo-Saxons. It abounds in traces of the early inhabitants of the land. There are no conspicuous monuments of the past ; no stone pillars, or circles, or cromlechs, as in the west ; no huge fragments of Roman masonry, no ruins of mediæval castle or monastery ; but the ground can scarcely be moved without evidence being afforded of this spot having been a favourite place of resort or residence from the very earliest times. The disturbed appearance of the surface, and other reasons, led me to suppose this when first I came into the neighbourhood, and two labourers out of work this winter furnished the opportunity of verifying my conjectures. We have made several excavations. In almost every instance traces of the aborigines (whether Celt or Cymry, or of name unknown) have been met with ; and in some of the diggings, the remains of each successive race that occupied the ground from the earliest to recent times were plainly discernible. In such cases the following was something like the order : in the first foot of earth, recent remains ; in the second, mediæval ; in the third and fourth, Saxon, Roman, and aboriginal. The natural, undisturbed soil was seen at depths varying from two to five feet ; and, as may be supposed, the greater the depth of disturbed ground, the more varied, in general, the remains of past ages. It might interest some of the readers of the *Journal* to have a brief account of one of our diggings.

Opposite the stable-yard of the Rectory is a glebe field, sloping towards the east, called "Pond Meadow." It contains a long moat of singular character, and of considerable depth,—in some places twelve feet. The portion of the field of which this moat is the eastern boundary is raised a few feet above the adjacent land, and may have been thus raised in old times for defensive purposes ; at any rate, traces of occupation by the early Britons have been met with in almost every part of it. A few yards from the north-west corner of this ancient enclosure—external to it, but still in the same field—is a brow overlooking a gentle slope of now arable land to the north. It seemed a likely spot for an ancient tumulus or barrow ; and thinking it possible, from the general appearance of the ground, that one had formerly existed here, which had been levelled for cultivation, I directed an excavation to be made. As I anticipated, it proved the site of a British barrow of very early date. At a depth of about two feet we came upon a stratum of mixed charcoal and earth, and pottery of various kinds, with a few other articles, viz.,—fragments of a quern or millstone ; a thin piece of green metal perforated, apparently a personal ornament ; some shells, oyster, whelk, and mussel ; also bones and teeth of animals, among which it was easy to detect those of the ox and pig. Lower down, at a depth of four feet, was a cist or grave seven feet long, two

feet wide, and eighteen inches deep, lying nearly east and west. It was almost entirely filled with charcoal, ashes, and broken urns; but contained, in addition, three lower jaw-bones of different animals carefully deposited,—one evidently the jaw of a pig; another, smaller, with teeth much worn by gnawing; and a rude flint spear-head. The pottery in the cist was black, and moulded by the hand; very primitive, with here and there finger-mark indentations for ornament. The pottery in the stratum of charcoal at the two feet depth, nearer the surface, was of a redder hue, fire-baked, and evidently of somewhat later date: the presence of the piece of metal also indicating this.

My impression was that there were two interments here. 1. The original interment was that in the cist, the high antiquity of which is shown by the presence of the very rude flint spear-head. No human bones were in this cist,—animal bones only and urns, with, perhaps, human ashes. The hot embers of the ancient funeral pile that had evidently stood on the spot had here and there burnt the earth of the natural soil (clay), and converted it into an imperfect brick. Two thousand years may have passed since that ancient funeral pile was blazing. 2. Over this aboriginal grave a tumulus had apparently been raised; and into this tumulus, as I conceive, the later or Romano-Britons, more civilised, *afterwards* inserted their better-baked urns with the ashes of their dead, and the metal ornament, etc., found. Barrows appear to have been used, in heathen times, not unfrequently as cemeteries.

G. CARDEW.

Roman remains abound on all sides. In the fields, a short distance from the Rectory, Mr. Cardew has found traces which lead him to suppose that Roman villas existed there, and that houses were probably in existence upon their sites to as late a period as the reign of Henry VIII. In one case he finds traces of a house which appears to have been destroyed by fire in the time of Elizabeth. The party lingered for a long time near Mr. Cardew's interesting trenches, probably feeling the force and truth of his remark, that such a sight could not be seen elsewhere in England, and that such an opportunity might never again be presented to them.

The exigencies of the day were too pressing to allow of such a stay as these interesting relics deserved, and the carriages were once more sought; and, after returning hearty thanks to the Rev. G. Cardew, all returned to Ipswich in time to start at two o'clock for Orwell Park, the beautiful seat of George Tomline, Esq., M.P., the President of the Association. The company exceeded a hundred, and were, upon their arrival, received in the picture-gallery, whilst the libraries and grounds were freely thrown open.

The drawing and dining-rooms contain one of the finest collections

of pictures in England, and for a time these magnificent rooms were crowded with those who were anxious to make the most of the opportunity of examining examples of some of the best masters the world has yet seen. The collection is remarkable as containing the *chef-d'œuvre* of Murillo,—Christ healing the man sick of the palsy at the Pool of Bethesda. This is a large picture, and a marvellous work of art. On each side of it are two Dutch merry-making scenes, wonderfully filled with life and bustle. Each figure is a study, and the canvas is crowded with them; and all are in the height of hearty, reckless animal enjoyment. These are by Ostade and Teniers. Zurbaran's "Carpenter's Son" occupies a conspicuous place in the collection, and the child's face is one not easily to be forgotten. The peculiarity of the collection is the great number of *chefs-d'œuvre*; and Rembrandt, Gainsborough, Van der Neer, Cuyp, Koek, Wouvermann, Titian, and Vander Velde, are all represented. An hour or two was spent in the most agreeable manner, inspecting these splendid works, and then in wandering about the grounds till recalled by the sound of the bell which announced luncheon. The grounds were in most splendid order, and perhaps in no part of Suffolk is there a finer or a more elastic turf than is to be found upon the lawn at Orwell Park. The grounds contain some fine timber; and among other trees are several noble cedars, some of which have a tall, straight bole, and but few arms, except at a considerable height from the ground. From the lawn fine views of the Orwell may be obtained; and from the campanile in the grounds, Harwich town and church and part of the harbour, and miles of the Samford Hundred on the opposite side of the Orwell, may be seen; while on the other side the whole of the Colneis Hundred lies spread out like a carpet, and in the distance the churches and loftiest buildings of Woodbridge may easily be made out on a clear day. After a pleasant ramble through the grounds, all returned to the large conservatory on the north-west wing of the mansion, where preparation had been made for entertaining a large party. The company, numbering a hundred and thirty, among whom were a great many ladies, sat down to a sumptuous luncheon. At the conclusion of the repast,

Mr. Pettigrew said he felt sure those whom he was addressing were anxious to take the opportunity of returning their thanks to the President of the Association for the splendid manner in which he had received them that day; and further, for the undivided and undiminished attention he had paid to the business of the Association at the present meeting. No one, he (Mr. Pettigrew) was sure, could have walked through the rooms of that magnificent house without having been instructed by the taste with which it was furnished, and by the stores of literature and art with which it was adorned. The magnificent collection which they had seen was, he might say, unrivalled, and they must all feel grateful

to Mr. Tomline; and they must have felt, while looking at his noble collection of art treasures, that they had made a good choice of a President. He would not detain them longer than to propose the health of Mr. Tomline, accompanying the toast with their sincere thanks to him.

Mr. Tomline said he would say but one word, to thank the company sincerely for the kind manner in which they had received the toast. They would agree with him that they might make speeches as noisy as those in the House of Commons, but they did not wish. He would only add a toast, which he would ask a volunteer to second, and that was the health of the ladies, with the sincere thanks of the Association to them for having honoured the meetings by their presence.

Mr. T. S. Gowing said, as the senior bachelor present, he felt himself called upon to respond to the call of the President. He heartily seconded the toast which their worthy host had given, and he was sure it needed nothing from him to enhance their appreciation of the beauty and the grace and refinement that had been lent to the meetings by the presence of the ladies.

The company then enjoyed themselves for another hour on the lawn and in the grounds, and returned to Ipswich in time to hold the meeting at the Assembly Rooms for the purpose of examining the Temporary Museum of Antiquities.

The collection of antiquities and articles of *vertu* was a very large one, and contained many matters of great interest. The articles were arranged in the New Assembly Room. The principal local contributors were,—Sir G. Broke-Middleton, Bart.; Mr. C. F. Gowing, Mr. G. Bullen, sen., Mrs. W. H. Alexander, Mr. S. Westhorp, Mr. W. B. Jackaman, Rev. E. Bolton, Rev. Dr. Holden; Mrs. Jackson, Debenham; Mr. J. Wilson, Mr. W. Brown; Mr. Goodwin, Falcon-street, Ipswich; Mr. Warren, Ixworth; Mr. Francis, Westgate-street, Ipswich; Mr. W. B. Ross; Mr. J. Walker, Chelmondiston; Mr. Joshua Rodwell, Claydon; Dr. Drummond; the Rev. T. Mills, Stutton; Mr. W. P. Hunt, Ipswich; Mr. J. C. Cobbold, M.P.; Mr. Carthew; and Mr. Whincopp, Woodbridge; and other gentlemen. The collection was of a miscellaneous character, and contained specimens of nearly every article likely to interest those who try with eager eyes to read the *minutiæ* of the daily lives and habits of men and races of men long since forgotten by all but enthusiastic antiquaries. Mr. Hunt's collection contained a manuscript volume illustrative of the Suffolk families, the arms of each family being beautifully painted. The plan of the work is similar to that of Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, each hundred being taken separately. Mr. Hunt also exhibited a beautiful specimen of mediæval stained glass. The library of the late Mr. W. H. Alexander furnished a literary treasure, said to be of great antiquity, in the shape of a Hebrew manuscript roll containing the Pentateuch very beautifully written on

parchment. Several Bibles and Prayer Books, and some curious old sermons and pamphlets, published at Ipswich and other places in the county, were also exhibited, some of them being good specimens of early printing. The deeds and MSS. of a more formal character were very numerous; and one bore, in very legible but by no means lady-like characters, the signature of Queen Elizabeth. Ancient jewellery and watches were well represented, and specimens of almost every period were to be seen in the collection. Gold watches from different countries, and in a great variety of styles; and rings, brooches, and buckles innumerable, some of them of great antiquity, were exhibited. Some very fine specimens of the Lowestoft pottery were to be seen in the shape of bowls and basins. The paintings were not numerous; but one portrait of Dr. Isaac Barrow, said to have been painted by a lady by stealth, as the Doctor had a great aversion to have his portrait painted, is a very fine specimen of art, although perhaps not so much an object of antiquarian interest. A large portion of the wall-space of the room was occupied by water-colour sketches of the round towers of Ireland, made by Mr. Gordon Hills. Mr. J. C. Cobbold also sent a fine collection of drawings, by Frost, of different views in Ipswich, chiefly interesting as showing the changes which have been made in the town within the last one or two generations. The collection of coins was very large, and many of those found in Ipswich during the last two years were exhibited. Mr. R. M. Phipson sent a large collection of ancient wood-carvings taken from different buildings. Some of these were beams, and they were most of them in a fine state of preservation. Among this collection was a bed-post, evidently of considerable antiquity. Among the wood-carvings was a piece of a perforated wood-screen, remarkable for the accuracy of the workmanship. The number of stone implements in the collection was very large, and several were exhibited from Hoxne, and some from the French quarries. The collection was of unusual extent and variety, and all were agreeably surprised at its generally excellent character. We hope to furnish, in a future number, a complete catalogue of the collection.

The President then took the chair, and Mr. Pettigrew read a letter inviting the Association to hold its Congress in 1865 at Durham. This invitation was on the part of the authorities of the University, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, the Mayor and Corporation, and the local Scientific, Literary, and Antiquarian Societies of Durham. After enumerating the great and peculiar antiquarian attractions offered by a visit to the city, Mr. Pettigrew moved that the invitation be most thankfully received and accepted, and that the Association do hold its Congress in 1865 at Durham.

This proposition was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne, whose knowledge of the locality qualified him to speak highly of the objects to

be viewed, and the manner in which the Association would be received; and after a few observations by Mr. R. N. Philipps, F.S.A., also familiar with the locality, in support of the proposal, the vote was put by the President, and carried with acclamation.

Mr. Gordon Hills then addressed the meeting upon "The Round Towers of the Eastern Counties and of Ireland." He said that, so far as the round towers of Suffolk and Norfolk were concerned, they had doubtless been constructed in that form because of the difficulty of getting stones to finish the angles with. In Ireland, however, the case was different; for there was an abundance of good building stone, and it was necessary to find some other reason for building towers in that form in that country. They had been referred to the Danes. It had been supposed that they were anchorite towers, and also that they were celestial indices; but the opinion most generally received was that of Dr. George Petrie, that the Irish round towers were of Christian origin. Mr. Hills said he had determined, on entering upon his researches, to examine for himself every round tower in Ireland; and the result was that he had drawn about sixty-six of them. He traced the history of the country from the earliest times, and observed that there was not the disturbance in the habits of the people of Ireland, caused by a foreign occupation, as there was in England by the occupation of the Romans and the conquest by the Normans. To this fact he thought was owing the peculiarity of the architecture of the early Irish, which gave rise to the construction of round belfries to the churches. The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland effaced this peculiarity; and the introduction of the continental orders of monks produced a system of architecture more in harmony with that of the rest of Europe. Mr. Hills gave a minute description of the towers in various places in Ireland.

The President said he had now to ask the meeting for numerous votes of thanks,—to the patrons; to the Mayor and Corporation of Ipswich; special thanks to the Ven. Archdeacon Hervey and the clergy of the county; to the sister Societies, the Bury and Suffolk Archaeological Institute and the Essex Society, who had assisted them so well at Colchester; to the Local Secretaries and the Local Committee; to their absent friends, the Mayor of Colchester and the Rev. E. C. Alston, who so hospitably entertained the Association; to the highly intelligent and persevering gentlemen who had prepared papers for the meeting; and to the exhibitors of the articles in the Museum. He hoped they would be able to recollect the list of those to whom the Association was indebted.

The thanks were accorded by acclamation, and

Mr. Pettigrew proposed the thanks of the Congress to the President.

Mr. Phillips, in seconding the motion, passed a glowing eulogium

upon the President, who in reply said he felt that he did not deserve the thanks of the Congress, for his exertions had been amply repaid by the pleasure he had experienced, and the knowledge he had gained, in attending their meetings.

The meeting then resolved itself into a *conversazione*, and refreshments were amply supplied by the kind invitation and liberality of the Mayor of Ipswich, who most assiduously attended the proceedings of the Congress, and contributed greatly to its success. The company did not separate until a late hour; and various parties were made up to inspect the antiquities of the town not yet visited, and various places in the neighbourhood, it having been found inconvenient to follow the plan originally proposed in visits to Long Melford, Lavenham, etc.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13.

This, the closing day of the Congress, was partly occupied in an inspection of the Ipswich Museum, containing, among other objects of great interest, a series of geological and botanical specimens arranged by the late Professor Henslow, who had also here deposited several of the Romano-British urns discovered by him at the village of Kingston near Derby in 1844; of which he rendered an account to the Association, printed in the second volume of the *Journal* with illustrations. There were also the radius and ulna (bones of the human arm and wrist) taken from a Roman interment, having still encircling them a bronze armilla or bracelet. The specimens of natural history are numerous and fine, and some of them are accompanied by their anatomical illustrations. The whole are in excellent order and preservation, and reflect credit on the town for the manner in which they are arranged.

The principal objects of attention, however, were the churches, which received from Mr. Roberts and Mr. Phipson very minute attention. There were nine churches in the town when *Domesday Book* was compiled. The churches now are, the Holy Trinity, St. Clement's, St. Helen's, St. John's, St. Laurence, St. Margaret's, St. Mary Elms, St. Mary Key, St. Mary Stoke, St. Mary Tower, St. Matthew's, St. Nicholas, St. Peter's, and St. Stephen's. St. Nicholas is supposed to be partly built of the materials of the ancient church of St. Michael; and curious relics of sculpture are evident in the wall, which Mr. Roberts regarded as being decidedly Saxon. St. Clement is a large church with a lofty tower of blue flint. There is also a clerestory above the side-aisles, giving a bold appearance to the structure. Eldred, who travelled round the world with Cavendish, was buried here; and in the Register-Book is an entry of the burial of Grace Pett, the witch, in April 1744.

ON COLCHESTER CASTLE.

BY REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

[The lamented decease of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne prevents the insertion of his paper in extenso, as intended. (See p. 170 ante.) The original cannot be found amongst his documents, and the following is therefore here printed from a well-authenticated report taken at the delivery of the paper at the Castle on Wednesday August 10, and forwarded by Mrs. Hartshorne.]

Although the position of this castle presents nothing remarkable in a defensive view, yet it has some peculiarities of an architectural nature that entitle it to a careful examination. The keep, and there remains nothing besides, was formerly surrounded by a fosse and pallisade, the usual method of fortification at the time these military buildings were erected. The fosse may have either been the work of the Romans or of a very much later period, as it would equally suit their system of castramentation, or the practice of the Normans. Viewed by itself it has very little evidence in the inquiry as to when the castle itself was built. It is a fact that scarcely needs stating that the Romans planted a large colony at Colchester, to which its present importance may be mainly attributed. If traditionary accounts are of any value, what has been written about the extent of the fosse would make it appear more probable that it was executed by this people than their successors. However, it must be admitted that the age of this is entirely conjectural, so that it need not occupy any further consideration.

The admixture of Roman brick with flints and cement stone impart to the castle a singular, a rugged, but yet not unpleasing effect. The keep, which is rectangular, is 171 ft. 8 in. from north to south, and 128 ft. 8 in. from east to west in its widest dimensions, thus exhibiting a greater size and larger area within its extreme outward walls than the White Tower of London, Castle Rising, Bamborough, Rochester, or any other castle in England. Its altitude is below all of them, and was never much more than is seen at present.

The angles of the buttresses throughout are built with Roman brick, or an imitation of it,—nearly half their height, for the simple reason that all the natural materials within easy reach were too small to afford the necessary support to these important portions of the walls. The bricks, though generally used horizontally, are, however, sometimes placed endways and herring-bone fashion. Such irregularity of construction is utterly unlike the general system of masonry adopted by the Romans, as may be observed in several places in the town where their real work has been preserved. This irregularity of construction, together with the disfigurements made by an ignorant owner, who purchased the castle in 1683 for the sake of pulling it down and selling the materials, give the whole building a rough and dilapidated appearance.

It is well known that the geological character of this part of England is unfavourable for building purposes. The best material employed throughout the entire district, when bricks are not used, consists of flint and Harwich cement stone. In this Castle they are employed with some of the dressings of Caen stone, or of the shelly oolite from Barnack, near Stamford.

When the distance between Colchester and the neighbourhood of Stamford is considered, it will be apparent that the excellence of the Barnack stone was thoroughly and widely appreciated. Its durability has amply justified the great expense of its tedious transport by the Welland, the Nene, the Yare, the Colne, and the sea, by which means it was carried into Essex and the adjoining counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The resistance to decay or exfoliation in this shelly oolite, or as it is locally termed, Barnack rag, is remarkably shown in the west front of Binham Abbey, in Norfolk, and in the set off of the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral, at Burleigh House, Peterborough and Ely Cathedrals, Croyland and Thorney Abbeys, Boston, Spalding, Holbeach and Molton churches, Lincolnshire, besides in many churches in Northamptonshire. The value of Barnack stone in a part of England where there was none whatever, is shown by its having been transported to such a distance as Essex. My own local knowledge does not permit me to say in how many more buildings it was used, and therefore I will only adduce the south door of Great Bentley church, which is formed of it, having probably been carried from Colchester for the purpose. It is not unlikely that it will be found also in churches on the coast of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Bringing back the attention more immediately to the castle of Colchester, and without entering into a description of its arrangements, because they present no features that are unusual in this kind of buildings, it is clear that it was erected before 1130, since in this year there is a payment entered on the Great Roll of the Pipe,¹ of one marc of silver being paid to Eraddus the mason. There being no other building in Colchester then in the hands of the crown, this outlay must consequently have been expended upon the castle.

No further mention of it occurs until 1170;² when there appears an entry on the same records for works, which cost forty-seven shillings. Again in 1180³ the turreis, as it is termed, being the keep, was repaired at an outlay of upwards of ten pounds. These entries upon the accounts of the sheriff of the county make it conclusive that the whole building has, by this time, been finished, but began to require reparation.

The gateway of the keep, ornamented with roll mouldings and their nebule ornament, has a portcullis. It is the principal feature of

¹ Magn. Rot. Pip., 31 Henry I.

² Ibid. Rot. Pip., 16 Henry II.

³ Ibid. Rot. Pip., 26 Henry II.

architecture in the building, and is of the period at which we have arrived. A large gateway at St. Osyth Priory is very like it in mouldings and proportions, though the one at Colchester is earlier.

In 1199¹ and again in 1200² works were executed at Colchester. In the former year ten marks were expended on the building. Also in 1204³ and 1205⁴ further sums were laid out under the direction of Forcinus the "Ingeniator."

There does not appear any other entry of importance during the reign of King John either on the Pipe or Close Rolls. However, in 1219,⁵ the Bishop of London, who was then farmer of the town, received a precept from Henry III to select two legal and discreet men, who should erect a palisade round the castle in lieu of the one recently blown down. There were also other minor repairs during the reign.⁶

This building is historically memorable for two assaults that it underwent in the thirteenth century. The first was made by Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, in 1215, by whom it was captured. After a few days' siege it was, however, retaken by King John. In the following year⁷ it fell into the hands of Louis, son of Philip II of France. At this time the Dauphin, partly on the invitation of the English nobility, in consequence of their hatred of John, landed at Dover, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of Rochester, Guildford, Heveningham, and Colchester. His tenure was, however, but brief. The barons gained their liberties without foreign assistance, and the Dauphin was driven out of the castles he had taken with so little difficulty.

Colchester Castle was never of the same altitude as other Norman fortresses met with in England and elsewhere. This is another feature of its peculiarity. Though the keep is the largest, it is also the lowest that now exists. Its vaulting, too, is more extensive than is met with in other castles. This gives it internally a degree of apparent spaciousness and of real solidity that is not of frequent occurrence. In fact this species of waggon vaulting is rarely seen, except in the basements of military buildings.⁸

The Castle is almost unusually deficient in everything like decoration. Those who have seen the rich windows, doors, and fireplaces at Castle Hedingham, in the same county, must at once perceive the

¹ Magn. Rot. Pip., 1 John.

² Ibid., 2 John.

³ Ibid., 6 John.

⁴ Ibid., 7 John.

⁵ Magn. Rot. Claus., 3 Henry III.

⁶ 1214, twenty-two marks for carpenter's work; 1215, twenty-five marks by Stephen Harengood, to whom the custody was committed, with orders to enclose it; 1219, order to erect a new palisade; 1223, small repairs; 1224, repairs; 1227, repaired by William Blundel, Constable.

⁷ Chron. Walt. de Hemingford, v. i, p. 251.

⁸ The substructure which lies under the east side is a fine specimen of plain early vaulting.

great difference in this respect. The arched recesses within the building, all turned with brick, the great thickness of the walls, averaging twelve feet, and the simplicity of its arrangements, distinguish it from all other buildings of the period.

The area was originally divided by a wall running from north to south. The western side of this was either an open space, or as was usual contained temporary wooden buildings.¹ Remains exist on the eastern side which show that this part was appropriated to rooms more substantially built. Amongst these the chapel, as it has not incorrectly been called, is the principal one deserving attention. Amongst the grants of the founder of St. John's Abbey was one giving to it all the issues of the chapel in the castle of Colchester. In consideration of this endowment, the abbot was obliged to find a chaplain three days in every week either in St. Helen's chapel or in the chapel within the castle. In 1290 the abbot was fined twelve marks for his neglect of this service.²

A recent writer has made the startling assertion that Colchester Castle was once a temple of Claudius; that the vaulted room commonly considered a chapel was the podium in front of the adytum of the temple, whilst the building itself is both the oldest and the noblest monument of the Romans in Great Britain. These ingenious notions are amusingly set forth in "Colchester Castle shown to have once been the Templ'd Citadel which the Roman Colonists raised to their Emperor Claudius at Colonia Camulodunum." The practical views I am obliged to adopt, forbid entirely my assent to these unsupportable ideas. Both the character of the masonry, which is quite unlike Roman construction as visible in many parts of this town, and the concurrent inferences derivable from the records already quoted, must necessarily lead us to a different conclusion.

No doubt whilst there exists a superabundant amount of evidence to show the Roman occupation of Colchester in the reign of Claudius, there is none to prove its antiquity as a settlement earlier than this nation made on the southern coast at Pevensey, Lymme, Dover, and Richborough. Roman settlement in Colchester is shown by its name alone. It is visible in some of the materials of which its Castle is built, and in the numerous objects of art which have been discovered in its precincts. But it is equally true that no portion whatever of the present structure can be attributed to a period before the Conquest. No person in the least degree conversant with the common arrangements of a Norman castle, or with Norman architecture, will have the smallest hesitation in stating it to be the work of that period. Yet if this were

¹ Or, like Castle Rising, had a row of arches which divided the area into three divisions, being also the means of supporting the floors on this side.

² Dugd., *Monast.*, D. iv, p. 609.

not conclusively established on architectural data, demonstrable by those inductions which naturally, as it were, spring from comparing one building with another, the history that has been transmitted is a sufficient proof of its age as well as of the name of its founder.

In a document printed by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, there occurs the following important passage, which must for ever set all doubt upon this controverted question at rest. The writer of the genealogy of the founder of Tintern Abbey, speaking of one closely connected with him, uses these words, "*Predicta Rohesia supervixit, et remupta Eudoni dapifero Regis Normanniæ, qui construxit Castrum Colcastre, cum Cænobio, in honore Sancti Johannis, ubi sepultus fuit, cum conjuge sud, tempore Henrici Primi.*" This genealogy shows that the Rohesia here mentioned was the daughter of Hascul de Harecurt. She married, for her first husband, Richard, the son of Earl Gilbert, who was amongst the most leading of the Conqueror's followers. Her second husband was Eudo le Dapifer, who is here spoken of as the builder of the Castle of Colchester and the founder of the Abbey of St. John. Between the accession of Henry I, in 1100, and the death of Eudo Dapifer in 1120, there was ample time for him to construct the Castle. Still more time if the reign of William Rufus is included, which would widen the conjectural period of its erection nearly thirteen years more, and extend the interval during which the building must be confined between 1087 and 1120. It is not improbable that it was built in his reign.

It is recorded in the history of the foundation of St. John's Abbey, that it was set out in the presence of Maurice Bishop of London in 1096, or the ninth year of the reign of William II; that the first stone was laid by Eudo Dapifer after Easter the following year, the second by Rohesia his wife, and the third by Earl Gilbert her brother. The same account that furnishes these particulars also states how Eudo became invested with the honour of dapifer or seneschal, or, as the office may perhaps now be termed, royal chamberlain. William Fitz Osborn, who had previously held it, placed before the king on a particular feast day, in virtue of his duty, a goose which was so badly roasted that the blood came out when it was pressed. Being very deservedly reprobated by the king for such an act of negligence, with difficulty stomaching the royal abuse, and unwillingly shedding tears, he stretched forth his hand for punishment, when immediately Eudo thrust out his own, and in his stead received the monarch's angry blow. Fitz Osborn, exasperated, retired from office; but he, however, asked that he should be succeeded by Eudo; and thus, it is said, in consequence of his father's deserts as well as his own, with the request of Fitz Osborn, Eudo received the appointment.

When the Conqueror was lying under his last sickness at Caen, Eudo, though promoted, was not unmindful that upon William's decease

another person might succeed as dapifer, and therefore he passed over into Normandy, and applied to the future king to be confirmed in his office at his father's death. He really deserved it from his hands; for he promptly supported him, when the event happened, by preparing the English nobility for his succession to the throne. Nor in his elevation did he forget the people of Colchester. After his visit to Normandy he returned to the town at the earliest moment, and devoted himself to their service. He both fully inquired into and relieved their grievances. They, in turn, confessed their obligation, and solicited the king that they might be placed under the protection of such a benefactor. Had William II granted a charter during his reign,¹ undoubtedly Eudo's influence would have obtained the fullest privileges for the men of Colchester. His name ought for ever to be enshrined in the grateful memories of the inhabitants, since it is associated with the earliest and brightest period of our town.

His remains were carried, after his decease, from the Castle of Preux in Normandy, and honourably interred, 1120, in the abbey founded by his piety. Of that monument of his devotion, little belonging to his time exists; but the Castle he built still testifies his former power, and as a most interesting building must always appeal not more forcibly for preservation to the people of Colchester than to England itself, as an ancient landmark of history.

Altogether, the Congress of 1864 was most agreeable, and entirely satisfactory to the Association. The facilities afforded by all for the examination of the antiquities, the hospitality so generously extended to the visitors, and the spirit with which the inhabitants entered into the objects of the Congress, cannot but have left a most agreeable train of reflections. Much of the valuable information contributed has already found a place in this volume of the *Journal* of the Association.

¹ Stephens and Merewether, v. i, p. 292.

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ON THE CASTLE AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS AT SOUTHAMPTON.

(Continued from p. 208.)

BY THE REV. E. KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

IN the excavations made when the keep was lowered in 1822 some coins were found, two of which have come into my possession. One is a Saxon penny, in good condition, exceedingly rare, if not unique, and is further interesting as pointing to the antiquity of the keep as a fortification, no other Saxon coin having been known to be found within the precincts of the other parts of the fortifications of the town. On the obverse is "Offa Rex," with an ornament in the centre something like that of No. 35 of Plate 5 of Ruding. On the reverse the name of the moneyer is Bannard, probably the same person as Beaneard, the name of a moneyer on some other coins of Offa. The three lines, and also the two long ovals in which the name is contained are peculiar, and are only elsewhere found on the coin engraved No. 137 in Lindsay's work "*On the Coinage of the Heptarchy*," who says of it, "This beautiful little Offa presents us with a type different from any of those I have noticed." (From the Cuff Cabinet.) It varies very slightly from this coin.

In the late excavations the earliest coin yet turned up is a penny of Henry II. There were also found a coin of Edward I, and a chair penny of Henry VIII. On the obverse of the latter coin is the king seated on his throne with the legend "H. D. G. Rosa sine spina." On

the reverse "Civitas Durham," with the mint mark crescent. It has "T. W." at the sides of the shield, with a cardinal's hat below, referring to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, bishop of Durham.

Before quitting matters connected with this part of the town, I have to offer a suggestion as to the origin and meaning of a sculptured stone found near this locality.

Opposite to what was the east gate of the Castle is Castle-lane, leading into the High-street, at the bottom of which in a corner house was a stone bas relief engraved on the frontispiece of all the editions of Sir H. Englefield's "*Walk through Southampton*," and described by him at page 21, Bullar's Edition. He was informed "on inquiry that this stone was brought with a quantity of others from Netley Abbey, to be used in the foundation of the house, and was preserved on account of its sculpture." Although much defaced, the carving then still appeared extremely good. He considered that, "from its size and shape, it might have been the keystone of a groined arch, and that it was not impossible that the heads on it were those of the founder of the abbey, Henry III, and his Queen Eleonora." I take the opportunity to suggest that this sculpture came originally from the neighbouring Roman station of Clausentum, and represented Jupiter and his daughter Minerva. For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. John D. Smith. The flowing hair distinguishes the god, whereas Henry III had no such peculiarity. The helmet on the female figure is altogether unlike any head-dress which would be worn by Queen Eleonora, but similar to that of the Grecian statues of Minerva, the fashion of which was revived by the Romans in the days of Hadrian. The stone is not now in existence, having some years since crumbled to pieces, or been destroyed when some workmen were repairing the house. It might have been used at Netley in the same way as we have met with stones from Clausentum in the neighbouring priory of St. Denys, and in Jesus Chapel.

On the west wall of the castle, near its south-west angle, is a large vaulted room, visited by the Association in 1855, but of which no account appeared in the *Journal*. The apartment is 55 ft. 3 in. long, 19 ft. 6 in. broad, and about 25 ft. high. It had an exceedingly narrow window, also a door on its west side, now blocked up with masonry. The

door was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, its sill being nearly on a level with the water at high tide. The wall towards the river, which washed against it, was 7 ft. 5 in. thick. There were formerly eight beautiful corbels on each side, but most of them with the groining were removed at the beginning of the present century. Sir H. Englefield states, that the brick-layer who assisted in the dilapidation informed him that the vault had much the appearance of a place of worship.¹ It is easy to understand in what particulars the resemblances consisted, but it is well known that nothing of an ecclesiastical character existed here. By its situation it is adapted for a guard-room of the Water Tower. The corbels were 1 ft. 6 in. square at the top, and 2 ft. high. The entrance to the room from above on the south side is lately closed.

An interesting ancient apartment in Simnel-street, in the vicinity of the castle, belonging, no doubt, formerly to one of the principal residents, and described by Sir H. Englefield, was also visited by the Association in 1855. It is now a cellar used by the government for the bonding of wines. It is 34 ft. long and 21 ft. 8 in. broad, and its greatest height in the centre is about 15 ft. Its general appearance, as remarked by Sir H. Englefield, resembles that of the garderobe at Netley Abbey, and may almost fix it to be as early as that in date. This resemblance is striking in the chimney-place, which is 5 ft. 9 in. wide and 5 ft. 2 in. high below the penthouse. It projects nearly 3 feet into the room. The apartment had two handsome windows, 5 ft. 9 in. wide and 5 ft. 2 in. high to the central point, which also indicate high antiquity. The tops of these windows now barely reach the level of the street. The groining is supported by heads of tolerable execution. One of the bosses to the groining is carved with a human face, the others with foliage forming in each a cross. The ancient doorway stood about midway in the modern descent of thirteen steps from the street into the apartment. It was about 5 ft. 6 in. wide and 5 ft. 10 in. high, with an obtuse headed arch.

Sir H. Englefield has described a coat of arms on a mantel-piece of a large apartment (now a kitchen of a public house called the Queen Charlotte) a few doors east of this

¹ *Walk through Southampton*, p. 48; Bullar's edit. Sir H. Englefield incorrectly states that there are "loops and windows in this room," through which light might be obtained.

cellar. This house has within the last two years been re-fronted; but the apartment was, until then, fitted up with a handsome wainscot of the age of Elizabeth. It had an upright stone tablet, 2 ft. 3½ in. high and 1 ft. 6 in. broad, framed in the woodwork over the chimney-piece, on which the following coat of arms was cut in high relief:—A chevron bordured between three shamrocks, two and one; crest on a closed helmet in profile, a bunch of shamrocks. Motto on a scroll below the shield, "*Post tenebras spero lucem.*" Close under the scroll, the initials "W. L." Below this, on the flat of the tablet, "*Nullus reprehensor formidandus amatori veritatis, 1572.*" "*Sculptum Galvie in Hibernia*" is cut in small letters at the bottom of the tablet. An ornamental framework of oak with an egg and tongue moulding, 3½ inches wide, ran round the whole. It is stated by Mr. Bullar that the late Rev. T. L. Shapcott discovered these arms to have belonged to an Alderman of this borough, William Lynch, who was interred under a flat stone near the western door, in the centre aisle of St. Michael's Church.¹ Lynch has from the thirteenth century been amongst the most eminent names connected with Galway. It was one of the family, a magistrate of that town in 1493, whose inexorable sense of justice caused him himself to execute the sentence of the law upon his own son, and thus originated "Lynch law." The wine trade, common and important to both Galway and Southampton in the sixteenth century, accounts for the presence at the latter place of one of the Lynch family from Galway. The coat of arms² is identical with that belonging to the Galway name, but the crest is not, the lynx being the ancient crest of the family, and in all probability the origin of the name. This coat of arms was about a year since presented by W. J. Le Fevre, Esq., to the Hartley Institution, and is now placed in the hall over the entrance of the curator's room.

My attention was lately attracted to another coat of arms that had been placed three years ago in front of the Pine Apple Inn, in St. Michael's-square. About eight years since it was removed by the landlady of the premises, Mrs. Hitchcock, from the back part of the third house in Blue Anchor lane, where it was placed over the doorway. The

¹ Walk through Southampton, Bullar's edit., p. 45.

² Hardiman's *Hist. Galway*, p. 70, etc.

coat of arms is cut in oak, in strong relief. It is 3 ft. long and 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad. The date at the top is 1631. Between the 6 and 3 of these numerals is a spread eagle, with a fawn in its talons, and a cornucopia in its beak. Below the fawn is a visor. In the fess are three lilies. Two amulets are above the chevron, and one below it. On the chevron are representations of two hatchets, and a plumb line and square at its angle. Beneath the field is the name of George Speed. A camel rampant is placed on each side the escutcheon. The top and sides are ornamented with a beautiful border of fruits. In panels between the lines of windows above the door, where the coat of arms was placed, were six pieces of carved wood, 1 ft. 8 ins. long by $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins. broad, one of which has been fortunately preserved, and serves as a sample of the rest. Its ornamentation is equally artistic and graceful with the coat of arms. In it the acanthus leaf is fantastically cut into two human faces. At the top, under a festoon of fruit, is a monogram of the letter H. The coat of arms was traditionally called by the owners "*The Coopers' Arms*." The coopers of Southampton were enrolled as a Company as early as 1486, during the mayoralty of Christopher Ambrose.¹ This was before the enrolment of the Corporation and Fellowship of the Coopers of the City of London, which I am informed by our vice-president, Mr. Planché, was founded in 1509. We may conjecture that the above George Speed affixed his name to this coat of arms to denote his own occupation as a cooper, and as Southampton in 1631 was only second to London in the foreign wine trade, the business of a cooper was probably extensive and lucrative. I have not obtained any particulars of the life of this George Speed further than that he was a descendant of the famous antiquary John Speed, who died in 1629, and who had twelve sons and six daughters. He is probably the George Speed whose name occurs in the Holyrood parish register as having had a son George baptised May 30, 1665, and a daughter Elizabeth March 5, 1666, and whose own death is recorded in the same register March 9, 1682.²

¹ Liber Niger, folio 60.

² As the family of Speed was formerly, for several generations, intimately associated with the local history and literary character of Southampton, it will be interesting to trace the genealogy. In the Register of St. Michael's parish, where the house is located in the walls of which the coat of arms was carved,

It is certain that the antiquated looking houses skirting the right side of Blue Anchor lane, in which, as I have stated, the coat of arms was found, were formerly, like the houses in Simnel-street, occupied by the opulent and respectable classes. On the opposite side of this lane is the garden belonging to an edifice of the fifteenth century, fronting St. Michael's-square, in which Henry VIII is traditionally said to have resided for a week with his Queen Anne Boleyn. (See *Journal*, vol. xi, p. 324.) And lower down the lane is the dilapidated marine palace of King John, its east wall adjoining that garden.

Of the two ancient houses, which, combined, constituted King John's palace, though the larger one alone usually bears that designation, I may give a few particulars additional to the notice of it in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 332, in the quotation from Mr. Hudson Turner's

I found recorded the baptism of John Speed, April 24th, 1632, son of John Speed; and the baptism of Susannah, April 18, 1633, daughter of John Speed. In Holyrood Parish Register are recorded the baptisms of five of the children of Richard Speed, and six of the children of John Speed. Of these six, John, the eldest of his sons, was baptised April 1672. There are registered also various burials of the family of Speed during the latter half of the seventeenth century. John Speed, born 1625, the son of Dr. John Speed of Oxford, was grandson of the celebrated antiquary John Speed. Like his father, he went to St. John's College, Oxford, and graduated in arts and physic 1660. He settled as a physician in Southampton, became its mayor in 1682 and 1694, and was patron of Eling vicarage, presenting to it in 1689. He was the author of the well-known satirical poem of *Batt upon Batt*. The family had arrived at some consideration in the life of the great antiquary, who was much patronised by Sir Fulke Greville. His arms were, *gules*, upon a chief or two swifts volant *proper*. Crest, a swift, as in the coat, upon a wreath or and *gules*. Motto, "All for the best." The arms were granted to him by Mr. Camden, Clarenceux King-at-Arms. There were no less than five John Speeds in direct succession after John Speed the antiquary or chronologer, of whom the first four were physicians, and the fifth followed his uncle Samuel and great-uncle Richard in the vicarage of Eling, of which the family of Speed had had the advowson since the time of the third John Speed. The last of the four physicians is the Dr. Speed known as the author of the valuable MS. volume on *The History and Antiquities of Southampton*, to which I have before referred. I take the genealogy of the six John Speeds in direct succession from a memorandum kindly furnished me by John Speed Davies, Esq.:—"1. John Speed, the chronologer, died 28th July, 1629. Buried in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate. 2. His eldest son, John Speed, M.D., the anatomist. Born in London. Died May 1640, æt. forty-five. Buried in the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Oxford. 3. His second son, John Speed, M.D., author of *Batt upon Batt*. Died æt. eighty-five. Buried at Holyrood Church 1710. 4. His eldest son, John Speed, M.D. Baptised at Southampton, 1671. Died at Southampton, 28th Oct., 1767, aged seventy-six. 5. His eldest son, John Speed, M.D. Baptised at Southampton (St. Lawrence), 13 Sept., 1703. Died March 1781. He wrote some MS. anecdotes of the Speed family, and is believed to have written the MS. history of Southampton. 6. His second son, the Rev. John Mylles Speed (the eldest, John, died an infant), vicar of Eling. Born 14 July, 1746; died Oct. 8, 1792; buried in Eling Church."

Domestic Architecture of England. That antiquary considered King John's palace as the *oldest* house in England, dating its erection "in the earlier part" of the twelfth century. The larger house is 50 ft. 6 in. long in front, and 40 ft. broad. The north-west corner of its interior is now occupied by a stable and chaise-house, with a store on the floor above. On its south side are four high arches, which support a causeway over them, leading from the adjoining garden to a summer-house, from which is a beautiful prospect over the river Test. The larger part of the interior of the house is roofless. It had a door, three windows in front, and one window and door on the north side. Those windows which can be traced consist of two lights with a shaft dividing them, having capital and base. They were situated on the first story. The two doorways were on the ground floor. The fireplace on the north side of the first floor was handsome, and has Norman shafts in its jambs. A projection on the external side of the north wall, supported on four plain corbels, marks the direction of its chimney, which probably rose above the wall. The palace has on its front, on the west side, a succession of powerful arches, some of which being built over its windows mark their subsequent erection. They were probably added for the protection of the palace after the French invasion in Edward III's reign, by Richard II when he rebuilt or renovated the castle. The arches are represented at page 327, vol. xi, of the *Journal*. The first five cover the front of the palace. The remaining arches extend as far as the Bridle gate and the barbican. Interstices left at the top between the two walls formed a kind of machicolation through which molten lead or other instruments of destruction might be poured on the heads of assailants. In the centre of the east wall, on the first floor, may be observed an entrance to a narrow passage of 20 inches wide, 6 feet high, and 6 feet long, constructed in the thickness of the wall, about 4 feet thick, resembling a garderobe. It is remembered by many that about six feet south of this opening as late as forty-five years since was a flight of steps ten feet wide, descending into the ruin from the garden above, but the evidence of their antiquity is not distinct. Some ancient building in the direction from which the steps approached is suggested by foundations lately discovered under the fifteenth

century house before spoken of at the corner of St. Michael's square. The part of King John's palace now turned into a stable was last occupied as a dwelling-house by a dairyman thirty-five years ago.

On the opposite side of Blue Anchor-lane is the other once royal house, forming part of the palace. It is about 16 feet on the front (west) and 45 feet in length along the lane. It has a large Norman doorway on its south side, which is used as the principal entrance to the house, and a window and door of the same date now blocked up. The wall on this side is so weakened by age that it requires to be strengthened in one part by a thick plank of wood. The house has one window on the south, and two windows and a door on the east side, but modern windows have been so substituted or introduced for the exigencies of a lodging house, that it is difficult to trace the antiquarian vestiges.

There are respecting the king's houses directions of Henry III to the bailiffs of Southampton to repair "*domos nostros*."¹ Walter de Karron in 1224 is described as the keeper "*domorum domini Regis Suhamt*."² And that these houses were situated on this spot, and were close to one another, and near the west quay, is evident from a command to the bailiffs by Henry III in 1222 to repair without delay "*our quay at Southampton, lest through that quay some injury should befall our houses*;"³ and again there was another precept to repair "*Kayum nostrum ante domos nostros*."⁴ It has been surmised that these orders might have referred to another edifice situated in Porter's-lane, on the south of Southampton, commonly called Canute's Palace; but this is altogether improbable, as it was not till more than a century after that there was a *second quay*⁵ (viz. the Burgess Quay) in Southampton.

Blue Anchor-lane, that separates the two houses, is only 10 feet wide. It slopes down and winds from the south till it terminates at the existing postern gate, which formerly led down with steps into the water at its base. The gate is 8 ft. high, and 6½ ft. broad, and had a portcullis for its defence. The aspect of Blue Anchor-lane, the postern gate, and the

¹ Rot. Lit. Claus., 8 Hen. III.

² Ibid.

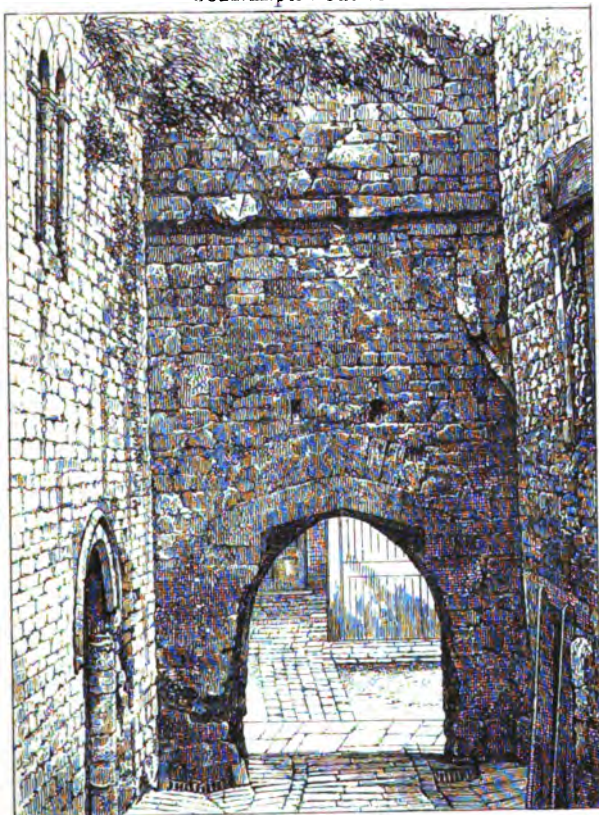
³ Ibid., 7 Hen. III.

⁴ Ibid., 5 Hen. III. For other illustrations, see Duthie's *Hampshire*, pp. 445-446.

⁵ Cal. Rot. Pat., 19 Ed. II.



Ballum Wall on N. Side of
Southampton Castle



Remains of King John's House
with the Postern Gate Southampton.

two houses on opposite sides of the lane, forming King John's Palace, is shewn on plate 13.

When the English monarchs ceased to make a frequent residence of Winchester (which was the birthplace and a favoured city of Henry III.), these houses, which we may suppose were a sort of marine adjunct to or resort from that city, lost a part of their especial convenience. They had also, from their contiguity to the New Forest, furnished peculiar facilities for the monarchs' sports, as the adjacent "King John's pond and the hounds' well, for the watering of their horses and the hounds," testify. When they ceased to be royal property we do not know. The present title deeds of the larger house reach back to 1730, when it was purchased under a decree of Chancery by Mary Parker. Passing through other private hands, it was purchased of Mr. J. Bernard, in 1860, by Messrs W. Lankester, J. C. Sharpe, and C. B. Phippard, to prevent any undue rise of the price if its site should be required by a then projected railway. It is now occupied by Mr. Rogers for stabling, and as a receptacle for empty casks and hampers. The title deeds of the smaller house extend back to 1662, when it and an adjoining garden were sold by Thomas Randall to James Parker. It was closed as the "Blue Anchor Inn" between seventy and eighty years ago. The inn gave its name to the adjoining Blue Anchor-lane. It was mortgaged to Mr. Edward Hunt, from whom it passed to Mr. John White, and now belongs to Mr. David Buggione, an Italian, who uses it as a cheap lodging house.

I cannot conclude this account of Southampton Castle and Town Walls without expressing gratitude to the Association for the timely assistance it afforded me, by the excellent letter of its Council and Treasurer to the corporation, in its recent struggle to preserve the north wall of the Castle ballium from demolition ; the success of which now meets with the general approbation of the inhabitants of Southampton, as well as of all interested in the preservation of our national antiquities.¹

¹ The wall thus rescued is represented in plate 13, and not, as stated, at p. 207, by a mistake in reference. The plate there referred to represents the arches on the town wall adjoining King John's Palace.

CROXDEN ABBEY AND ITS CHRONICLE.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

THE drawings which have occasioned the writing of this paper were made by Mr. Redford, a young architect of Manchester, and were submitted to the Royal Institute of Architects, in competition for one of their annual medals. It has been the custom during several years past for the Institute of Architects to offer a medal for the best set of drawings of a monastery in some part of the British isles. Many valuable sets have consequently been made. We owe it to the liberality of our old member and past President, Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., that this one has been brought before us and published.

Croxden Abbey is one of the later Cistercian abbeys of England, and was founded from the Norman monastery of Alnet, or Aulnay, to which it was affiliated. Brown Willis and the *Monasticon* furnish but very slender accounts of it, and no supplement to them of its history has appeared. Yet there exists in the Cotton Library¹ a MS. record, from which the *Monasticon* quotes, although it omits the numerous details concerning the buildings at Croxden, which it is my principal purpose to produce. The quotations furnished by the *Monasticon* are only such as relate to the family history of the de Verduns, the founders and patrons of the monastery.

This MS. record of Croxden Abbey is in the form of annals, extending from the Norman Conquest to the year 1374. Like all the monastic annals, the contents are very miscellaneous; but in this instance they are also very incomplete, the compiler having left a great many dates without any entry of events against them. Its contents may be classified as follows :—

1st. Events concerning the kings of England and the royal family, and narratives relating to wars both at home and abroad, in which the subjugation of Ireland is treated of with singular brevity, “*Capta est Hibernia*,” A.D. 1171; whilst the notices of the wars with Scotland are copious, giving many names of nobles who fell in battle or were engaged in the conflict, valuable to the genealogical inquirer.

¹ Faustina, B. 6.

2nd. Dates of taxes imposed on the laity and the church, and regulations respecting the coinage.¹

3rd. The succession of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, in whose diocese the monastery of Croxden was situated, down to Roger de Northburgh in 1322.² An imperfect series of the archbishops of Canterbury down to 1333. Some bishops of Lincoln down to 1280. Archbishops of York in 1071, 1255. Bishop *Antony Bek of Durham is mentioned at 1283 and 1314, and a bishop of Salisbury at 1315. The foundation of the see of Ely at 1109, and of Carlisle at 1133.

4th. The foundation of several Cistercian monasteries.³ The erection and destruction of various churches, the translations of the relics of saints, and the foundation of the orders of the Premonstratensians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and of Sempringham, and references to papal affairs.⁴

5th. Records of eclipses, earthquakes, comets and stars, storms, years of famine and plenty, and seasons of drought and of wet.⁵

6th. A complete series of notices of the abbots of Croxden

¹ *Taxes*, 1188, 1205, 1206, 1210 Benevolence, 1225, 1229, 1240, 1253, 1277, 1278, 1280, 1285, 1291, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1298, 1301, 1302, 1306, 1317, 1335, 1336, 1348. *Coinage*, 1181, 1244, 1278, 1298.

² *Bishops and Archbishops*.—Lichfield and Coventry imperfect, A.D. 1067, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1189, 1223, 1224, 1238, 1239, 1241, 1245, 1256, 1295, 1296, 1321, 1322. Canterbury, 1070, 1089, 1106, 1109, 1122, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1165, 1170, 1171, 1189, 1207, 1228, 1234, 1240, 1241, 1244, 1295, 1313, 1333. Lincoln, 1092, 1124, 1147, 1186, 1201, 1202, 1206, 1235.

³ *Cistercian Monasteries*.—1112, Fermeté and Savigny; 1114, Pontigny; 1115, Clairvaux and Morimond; 1122, Abb.de Elemosinà; 1129, Waverley; 1132, Fountains and Rievaulx; 1133, Gerondon; 1136, Wardon, Melrose, and Forde; 1138, Bordesley and Thame; 1139, Kirksted, Louth Park, and Thornton; 1145, Woburn; 1148, Mereval; 1150, Cumbe; 1202, Hulton. *Churches*.—1067, Canterbury; 1069, Lindisfarne and Durham; 1112, Chichester; 1113, Worcester; 1141, Lincoln; 1146, Reading; 1190, Coventry; 1232, Jews' Synagogue in London; 1237, Lincoln; 1298, Leek.

⁴ *Translations of Saints*.—1069, reliques of St. Cuthbert; 1087, Trans. of St. Nicholas; 1220, St. Thomas, Cant., St. Hugh, Lin.; 1253, St. Robert of Lincoln; 1280, St. Hugh of Lincoln; 1283, William, Archbishop of York. *Orders*.—1119, Premonst.; 1205, Dominic, also 1215; 1224, Franciscans. *Papal*.—1237, 1238, 1241, 1242, 1254, 1261, 1264, 1274, 1281, 1284, 1287, 1293, 1295, 1102, 1130, 1159, 1163, 1179, 1182-3, 1184, 1187, 1198, 1215, 1237, 1238, 1241, 1242, 1254, 1261, 1264, 1274, 1280, 1281, 1284, 1287, 1293, 1295, 1300, 1303, 1305, 1314, 1334. *Sundries*.—1087, Westminster Hall; 1102, priests decreed celib. by Cel. of London; 1113-1153, St. Bernard; 1245, Jerusalem; 1297, English abbots prohibited visiting Citeaux.

⁵ *Eclipses*.—1134, 1136, 1140, 1153, 1330, 1339. *Earthquakes*.—1089, 1134, 1155, 1165, 1185, 1246, 1301. *Comets, stars, and portents*.—1098, 1103, 1105, 1106, 1108, 1114, 1117, 1145, 1150, 1161, 1173, 1203. *Famine and pestilence*.—1069, 1125, 1151, 1166, 1275, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1349, 1361, 1368,

for the first two hundred years of the existence of the abbey, in which the date of the erection of its buildings is accurately defined, and a genealogy of the family of de Verdun, the founders of the monastery, is given.

7th. Lastly, some account of the author of the chronicle, and of some members of his family.

The two last are the subjects to which we have now to advert. William de Schepished, the compiler of the chronicle, was a monk of Croxden Abbey. He took his first vow in A.D. 1288, and was ordained priest at Walsall by the Bishop of St. Asaph on the 26th February, 1294. It is obvious that the latter part of the annals, extending as they do to eighty years from this date, cannot have been compiled by this monk. Several of his relatives we learn were monks, and some of them in his own abbey. Thomas de Schepished, who was sub-prior, died 31st January, 1293-4. Roger de Schepished ceased from the office of prior 20th April, 1298, and died 13th February, 1299. His brothers, John and Robert, were monks of the Cistercian abbey of Gerondon. One R. de Schepished died in 1313, and finally Richard de Schepished was elected abbot on the 12th June, 1329.

In 1176 Bertram de Verdun gave to the monks of Alnet, or Aulnay, near Bayeux,¹ in Normandy, the land of Chotes for the foundation of the abbey of the Valley of St. Mary; but, says the chronicle, it was ordained that they should praise the name of the Lord at another place. Chotes is supposed to be the place now called Cawton, or Cotton, not far from Croxden. In 1178 the first monks of the monastery must have been brought together. They were all from abroad; but one Thomas, an Englishman, was elected abbot. In the next year the convent removed from Chotene, as it is here called, to Croxden, and in 1181 the place of the abbey was dedicated. This abbot presided for fifty-one years and a half, toiling abundantly for the support of the house, the progress of its buildings, and perpetuated his memory by a manuscript of his own hand, in two volumes, of the greater part of the Bible. He is at another place called Thomas of Woodstock, and died on

1369. *Weather and harvests*,—1080, 1110, 1114, 1149, 1151, 1152, 1158, 1177, 1233, 1252, 1253, 1262, 1286, 1288, 1299 St. Swithin, 1304, 1318, 1329, 1330, 1332, 1333, 1338, 1339, 1345.

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 758. Gallia Christiana, vol. ii, 443.

4th December, 1229, and was interred in the CHAPTER HOUSE. The buildings upon which he was engaged seem to have formed the foundations of the church and of some parts of the domestic buildings, though the progress made in them cannot have been great, as the erection of all these buildings is attributed to a later abbot, with whose date the existing remains synchronise. His interment in the CHAPTER HOUSE should, however, be noticed; and also another interment, which was made before the HIGH ALTAR of the church, viz., that of Nicholas de Verdun, who succeeded his brother Thomas, as Lord of Alveton in 1199. The date of his death and interment is not mentioned, but if it occurred under this abbot, the place fixed for his burial and that for the interment of the abbot in the CHAPTER HOUSE, indicates that the plan at least of the buildings was arranged. Moreover, we shall see that this plan was not departed from; for about a hundred years later Nicholas de Verdun still lay before the high altar. The early stage at which the plan was settled is indicated by a previous interment, of which I am unable to state the date. This Nicholas de Verdun was the son of Bertram, the founder. Bertram died and was buried in the Holy Land; but his father, Norman, was interred at Croxden Abbey Church, before the spot where then or afterwards stood the altar of the Holy Trinity in the northern part of the south transept.

2. In 1230 Walter de Chacumb was elected abbot. He ruled but a short time, and was interred in the CHAPTER HOUSE, on the south side of his predecessor.

3. In 1234 William de Esseburn was elected abbot about Midsummer, but he also died shortly, viz., on the 22nd September, 1237, returning, as it is said, from Citeaux, and was buried beyond sea.

4. John de Tilton succeeded as abbot, but resigned the office in 1242. These three short abbacies must have been unfavourable to the progress of the buildings, and so no mention of works occurs in this period.

5. In 1242 the fifth abbot, Walter London, was elected, and commenced to rule the Sunday before Ascension Day. He was previously the Prior of Stratford,¹ and his coming to Croxden was, according to the chronicler, a special blessing to the latter monastery. He at once wonderfully augmented

¹ Stratford Langthorne, a Cistercian monastery in Essex.

the convent, and the buildings were enlarged by him in a very admirable manner. In his time were skilfully built the GATES of the monastery, the half of the CHURCH and CHAPTER HOUSE, the REFECTORY, the KITCHEN, the DORMITORY, the INFIRMARY, and CLOISTER there, the NOVICIATE, and very many other buildings and the necessary offices which for his successors he laudably completed. In his last days he fenced the grounds containing the abbey with a stone wall, which he left unfinished ; but so complete and important were his other works, that at his death it is said he had perfected the abbey to the utmost. The dedication of the church took place under his rule in 1253. He died in 1268, on the 28th of June. A very large part of his work remains to this day. It possesses some striking peculiarities, which will be noticed presently. We are not told to whom he was indebted for the means to erect the buildings, but the patrons during his time were Rohesia de Verdun, the owner of the neighbouring castle and lordship of Alveton (now Alton), and her son John de Verdun. As the church of Alveton was also dedicated in the time of Walter de London, in 1266, its erection is, no doubt, to be attributed to this John de Verdun, the lord of Alveton from 1248 to 1274, and the liberality of both these noble personages was probably the mainspring of abbot Walter's works.

6. William de Howton succeeded to the abbacy the day after the decease of Walter de London. Of him it is recorded that he built both the inferior and upper ABBOT'S CHAMBER in an excellent manner, giving for the labour of the wrought stone of that work 100*l.* sterling ; and for the Bible in nine volumes, glossed by Master Solomon, Archdeacon of Leicester, he gave fifty marks sterling. He died abroad, 16th September, 1274, probably attending a chapter of the order, and was interred at the parent abbey of the Cistercians, Citeaux, more than four hundred abbots attending his obsequies. On the 20th of October, whilst the abbacy was vacant, died John de Verdun, who was buried before the high altar of Croxden Abbey Church.

7. On the 13th of December, 1274, Henry de Moysham succeeded to the abbacy. He finished the wall around the abbey, begun in the last days of Walter de London. He resigned from infirmity on the 11th of June, 1284, and

died in 1286. The dedication of the church of Alveton is again recorded in his time, in A.D. 1277, on the 1st of June, only eleven years after the previous dedication.

8. John de Billysdon succeeded the same day that his predecessor resigned. Truly, says the chronicler, was he named John, for he was so filled with grace as to be conspicuous in the eyes of all beholders for his exceeding love and gentleness ; and, moreover, in his time the utmost abundance of the fruits of the earth prevailed. So plentiful was the harvest in 1288 that carts could not be found to carry the grass and corn. To him may be attributed, as will be shewn under the sixteenth abbot, the CELLARY, or west wing of the monastery, called in later times the Billysdon (corrupted to Botelston) Building. He died on the 8th of July, 1293, and was buried in the CHAPTER HOUSE, to the north of Thomas, the first abbot. A vacancy of nearly a year followed.

9. On the 1st of June, being Trinity Day, 1294, Richard de Twyford was elected abbot. From his first profession he had paid special devotion at the altar of the Holy Trinity, and now, after an administration of three years, marked by pious fidelity in the pastoral office, he died on Trinity Day, 1297, and was buried in the CHAPTER HOUSE, near Walter de Chacumbe. The ordination to the priesthood of the author of the chronicle was in his time. A vacancy of seven months and six days, followed the decease of this abbot.

10. William de Over was elected abbot on the 30th of December, 1297. In 1302 the bell of collocation was first hung in the church. He provided closets for the books, and purchased for the monastery a house in London of Fulco de S—— for 20*l*. He was deposed, not by his own convent, but by the Chapter-General at Citeaux, in 1308. Upon his death he was interred in the CLOISTER OF THE MONKS, without the church door, near the *Scamnum*, or EXCHANGE, the place where traders were admitted to sell wares to the monks.

11, 12, and 13. Richard de Esseby, who had been prior of the monastery from the 3rd of July, 1298, was elected to the abbacy in 1308, on the day of St. Gregory the Pope. For some reason, not stated in the chronicle, but probably on account of infirmity, he resigned the office on the 23rd of May, 1313. The prior Thomas de Castreton was canonically elected to the abbacy on the morrow, and as nothing ap-

pears in the chronicle to the contrary, must have ruled for seven years. Nothing is related of his death, but in 1320, on the 11th of June, Richard de Esseby was again elected abbot. From infirmity he resigned the office a second time on the 23rd of May, 1329. He died in November, 1333, in the fifty-second year of his profession and the seventieth of his age, and was interred before the ALTAR OF ST. BENEDICT, in the SOUTH TRANSEPT of the church. This was not the first interment made in this part of the church. We have already spoken of that of Norman de Verdun. Theobald de Verdun who died at Alveton Castle on the 24th of August, 1309, in the first term of office of Richard de Esseby, was buried in the SOUTH TRANSEPT, before one of the two altars there, on the 11th of October. Matilda, the daughter-in-law of this Theobald, in 1312 gave birth to a daughter, Margaret, on the 10th August, and dying on the 18th of September, was interred before the ALTAR OF ST. BENEDICT, in the SOUTH TRANSEPT on the 9th of October. This funeral was celebrated with great state, in the presence of all the magnates of the country, by Gilbert, Bishop of Annadown.¹ Her infant son, Theobald, the latest male offspring of the Verdun's, had previously been buried in the same part of the church. In 1316, under abbot Thomas de Castreton, Theobald, husband of the above Matilda, having died at Alveton Castle on the 27th of July, was buried apart from his father, before one of the two altars in the SOUTH TRANSEPT. His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, remained at Croxden Abbey for a month after his decease. By the marriage of Johanna, the eldest daughter of this Theobald de Verdun, to Thomas Furnival, lord of Worksop and Sheffield, Alveton Castle and the patronage of the Abbey of Croxden passed to the Furnivals. This occurred in 1319, and the change is represented as very unfavourable to the monastery from the pretensions which the new lord set up to certain rights over the monastic lands, whilst the monks claimed to hold the lands free of all service. In 1326 the chronicler speaks of the ALTAR OF ST. LAWRENCE in the church, before which Philip de Barington was buried. The only incident of building matters related under these two abbacies is that

¹ Annadown in Ireland. Owing to the disputed succession in that see, this Gilbert led a wandering life, and officiated for several bishops in England.

in 1313, on Easter-eve, the great bell of the monastery was broken by mischance. Thereupon Master Henry Michel, of Lichfield, came to cast another, and laboured at it from the octave of Trinity to the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and then he failed in casting it, and lost his entire labour and expenses. It was, however, recommenced and completed by the feast of All Saints (1st November).

14. On the resignation of the aged and infirm abbot, Richard de Esseby, the monks proceeded to elect his successor, and on the 12th June, 1329, Richard de Schepished was chosen. In the next year (1330) occurs that entry which Stowe has transferred to his *Annals*,—"Such a wet somer with exceeding raine this yeare, that the corn in the field could not ripe, so that in many places they began not harvest till Michaelmas. The House of Croxden got not in their wheat till Hallowtide (1st November), and their pease not before St. Andrewestide (30th November); so that the monks on All Hallown day and Martlemas day were served in the REFECTORY with pease green in the pods instead of pears and apples." The unpropitious weather continued, and on the night preceding Christmas Eve, in the twilight, a most violent wind burst from the westward. It stripped the roofs of the Abbey buildings and of the neighbourhood; indeed, some of the latter were overthrown from the foundations, and forest trees as well as fruit trees were torn up by the roots. The damages to the monastic buildings took some time to make good. In 1332 the entire roof of the CLOISTER OF THE MONKS was newly covered over by the convent, and according to the account of the carpenters, shingles were used to the value of twenty-five marks, five shillings, and sixpence. In the next year the REFECTORY and the BELFRY of the monastery (the central tower of the church) were also newly covered with shingles of oak, the material costing more than nineteen marks. In the following year, the DORMITORY of the monks and the houses thereto adjacent, the TREASURY and the NECESSARIES, and the DORMITORY of the abbot, were newly covered with nearly thirty marks worth of shingles, and all the gutters and ridges of those houses which were previously made of wood were renewed in lead. The abbot then proceeded in 1335, to construct his own new chamber between the KITCHEN of the INFIRMARY and

the DORMITORY, which he completed in the following year at a great cost.

In 1334 the Lady Johanna de Furnival (the last of the Verduns) died in childbirth, and was buried at Croxden Abbey, on the 7th of January, before the HIGH ALTAR of the church, between Nicholas de Verdun, son of the founder of the abbey, and John de Verdun her great grandfather. Richard de Schepished, the abbot, officiated at the funeral, attended by the abbots of Burton, of Combermere, Deulacres, Beauchief, and the priors of Worksop and Eccleshall. In 1339, Margaret Lady de Montfort, the eldest daughter of this lady, died, aged nineteen, on the 27th of September. It is not said that she was buried at Croxden, but the divine offices were celebrated in that church for her on the 2nd of October, together with the anniversary of her illustrious mother. Only twelve days after, viz., the 14th of October, the abbot of Croxden performed the funeral service over Thomas de Furnival, the father of one and husband of the other of these ladies, at the monastery of Beauchief. If the abbot who officiated on this occasion was Richard de Schepished, it is the latest act of his recorded. His name does not occur again, nor is his death spoken of. In his time, viz., in 1331, Roger, Bishop of Coventry, held a visitation at Alveton Church, in the beginning of July, and slept the next night at Croxden Abbey, where he examined the muniments of the convent relating to their possession of that church.

15. Alexander de Colbeley was the next abbot. Nothing is known of him till the termination of his government.

On the 13th of January, 1367, the abbot of Geronndon and a monk of Alnet, appointed by the abbot of that place as his commissary, visited Croxden. This is the only instance in which the chronicler shews the authority which the parent abbey of Alnet exercised over its daughter abbey of Croxden. From the acts recorded of the visitation, the affairs of Croxden abbey appear to have fallen into confusion.

16. Upon the day above mentioned the visitors being present, William de Gunston was elected abbot by the whole convent, Alexander de Colbeley resigned the office of abbot under a notarial instrument. At Pentecost following, the debts of the house were found to be 152 marks, 8s. 11d.

In 1369 the house called BOTELSTON fell from the church to the door of the *aula*, or HALL, except three couples, and in the next year it was rebuilt in large timber, and covered with nineteen and a half marks worth of shingles. Under the eighth abbot, Billysdon (written also Billisdon), I have referred to this building, and connected it with his name. One of the monks admitted by him was Henry de Bitlisden; probably both were of a family from Bitlesden in Buckinghamshire, where also was a Cistercian monastery. The corruption of the name to Botelston, as written a hundred years later in the Croxden Chronicle, is not an improbable one; and I have, therefore, no hesitation in calling the building referred to *The Billysdon Building*, and in attributing its erection to the eighth abbot.

In the year 1372 another violent tempest occurred on the eve of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. It stripped the lead from the roofs of the DORMITORY, INFIRMARY, and ABBOT'S CHAMBER, and destroyed the great barn at Musden and the tithe barn, called "span barn." This tithe barn was rebuilt in the next year, but its situation is not recorded.

In 1374 is the last recorded work at the abbey. It refers to repairs done to the four angles of the CLOISTER and to the roofs of the north and west walks of the CLOISTER with shingles, but the writing has become obliterated, so as to be in part illegible.

At the years 1300, 1316, 1337, and 1346, I have passed over some allusions to a certain great pond, situated between the abbey and the sheep-pen. In the first named year it was emptied by the sub-cellarer of the monastery, the fish taken, and five hundred eels found, and the piece of wood called *the bolt* was measured and found to be forty feet long, which was afterwards removed. At the second time this pond was emptied at Quadragesima. In the third instance, the same pond is said to have been broken at the same season, and in 1346 it was again broken (that is, I presume, breached and emptied), and the head of the pond repaired with a pipe most fitly strengthened *cum gemellis*.

Another external work is mentioned in the years 1372 and 1373. In the first year a cutting or ditch was made from Wilkdonway, beginning from the fall in the abbey wall to *Wetherbaleh* thence downward to Longhadland, on to the head of *Bayche cleth*, and thence nearly to the ford

in the road called Stony Way, which was between the lands of Croxden and those of Roucester Priory. The length of the cutting was 280 perches, and the cost of it, at fourpence a perch, was seven marks. In the next year another cutting was made 125 perches in length, near the Cross-way. Both these works are named, with the erection of farm works, the first at *Oke*, the last at *Gret* (Great Yate).

A matter which is mentioned several times refers to the woods belonging to the monastery, which were at stated times cut and sold. The wood was converted into charcoal, and yielded considerable profits. The woods named are Wibryding, Lightwood, Newhay at Chedle, the Park Wood, the Park of Oke, Bromfield, the Holms, Musden, Pokebache, Oxhay, Lindencliff, and Great Yate.

We may now turn from the chronicle to the remains of the buildings. To Mr. Redford's plan of them, distinguished by the parts drawn in black, plate 14, I have added the complete form of the buildings, so far as I am able to do it with certainty or a fair probability, and I should say that I speak of the buildings with the advantage of having lately visited them. They follow the Cistercian arrangement, but in their architectural features present several peculiarities; the most striking is the extreme simplicity of the windows and of much of the detail; whilst that which is more elaborate has much of a foreign aspect—to be accounted for, no doubt, by the connection with and dependence of this abbey on the foreign one of Alnet. The architecture of the remains is with inconsiderable exceptions of the thirteenth century; and there can be no doubt that in what still exists of the CHURCH we see the work which was consecrated under abbot Walter de London in 1248, and in the SACRISTY, CHAPTER HOUSE and two PASSAGES south of it, in the COMMON ROOM of the Monks, which forms the sub-structure of their DORMITORY, in the NECESSARIES attached, and in the KITCHEN and fragment of the REFECTORY, we are looking upon the other buildings erected under the abbacy of the same man between 1242 and 1268. The ABBOT'S HOUSE, as we see it, may with equal certainty be allowed to be that erected by William de Howton between 1268 and 1274. The work added to the south end of the MONKS' DORMITORY is of later character, and probably is that NEW CHAMBER of the abbot lying between the KITCHEN of

the INFIRMARY and the DORMITORY which abbot Richard de Schepished erected in 1335 and 1336. Identical in workmanship with this is the vaulting of the CELLARY adjoining the west end of this church, called *The Billysdon Building*, spoken of in 1368 and 1369. The abbey is now occupied by a farm homestead, and a public road crosses through the church from north-west to south-east, for which, whenever it was made, the remains of the north aisle and north transept of the church, and of the whole south side of the choir must have been sacrificed. Nevertheless, at the present time the ruin is preserved with neatness and care, and in almost all its parts is accessible on a level green sward, corresponding with the ancient floor level. The situation is in a broad and winding valley, at the bottom of which flows a considerable brook called the Peak, a tributary of the river Churnet, which it reaches several miles below Croxden, above Uttoxeter. The abbey is on a slope, round which on the west and south the stream winds at about a hundred yards distance from the buildings. To the north of the abbey is a large water mill, worked by a cutting or water race, diverting through the mill a part of the waters of the brook. The extensive buildings of the mill are full of materials taken from the abbey and applied to their walls. They probably occupy the site of the ancient abbey mill, for the water-course of which, it may be presumed, the cutting 280 perches long was made in 1373, and a shorter cutting the next year. As there is no parish map of Croxden in existence, I have not the opportunity to identify the names of the places through which the cuttings passed.

Of the ruins the CHURCH first commands attention. The west end is represented on plate 15. The door, though much perished, has been rich; but the work derives a stately effect from the simple but lofty triple lancet of the nave, in which the side lights are allowed to descend on each side of the door in a very unusual manner, and obtain a height of thirty-five feet. The straight and lofty buttresses are equally simple and dignified. For the sake of the architectural student, the mouldings of some of these features are given at figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, plate 17. The remains of the half columns on the inside of the wall show that the arcades dividing the aisles from the nave had square pillars moulded on the angles with shafts attached on two sides

(see fig. 5 plate 17). A large part of the wall of the south aisle of the nave remains, and has upon it vaulting shafts and ribs, showing that the aisles had groined vaults. The south end and west sides of the SOUTH TRANSEPT are almost entire (see plate 16). A lofty lancet window, one of a pair which lit the side, remains, and also a pair in the end ; but the latter were from the first half concealed and blocked up by the DORMITORY roof, the mark of which is visible on the outside of the TRANSEPT wall. The CLOISTER roof, too, must have taken off something from the foot of the side windows. On the east side of the transept were two chapels, and the arches before them had clustered pillars. The transept and its chapels were vaulted. In the south end of the transept, a round headed door opens into the sacristy, and high up in the wall is another door, from which a flight of stairs in the transept, provided for the descent of the monks from their dormitory to the night services in the church. The interments, which we have shewn from the chronicle were made in this transept, were—1, Norman de Verdun, the father of the founder ; 2, Theobald de Verdun, died 1309 ; 3, Matilda, died 1312 ; 4, Theobald, son of Theobald de Verdun and husband of Matilda, who died in 1316 ; 5, the infant son of these, named also Theobald ; 6, abbot Richard de Esseby, in 1333. The narrative of the Chronicle shews that the two chapels of the transept had altars, dedicated, one to the Holy Trinity, and the other to St. Benedict. That the former lay to the north and the latter to the south, and that of the interments, the first, and probably the second, were before the altar of the Holy Trinity, whilst the others were before the altar of St. Benedict.

Of the CHURCH there is yet to be noticed the fragment of its eastern end. This stands in an orchard separated by the public road from the principal ruins. It is the outside of just one half of a small apse, which by measurement, it is evident, was attached to the *chevét* or semicircular end of the church. The fragment shews that this little apse was vaulted, and had one small lancet window over its altar, the workmanship being also of the same date as the rest of the church. But upon carefully setting out the complete form which this fragment shews the east end of the church to have had, we discover, as noticed by Mr. Redford and veri-

fied by myself, that there may, or, perhaps I should say, must have been five small apsidal chapels round the main apse or *chevét*. This arrangement of the east end of a Cistercian church is very unusual in England. I believe the only other instance of it is to be found at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire; but, unusual as was this departure from the English practice of a square east end, the form adopted was the usual one in France; and that it is to be found at Croxden and Beaulieu, is no doubt to be attributed to the French dependence or origin of both these monasteries. With respect to Croxden, it appears that the architects simply followed the pattern of the parent abbey of Alnet, the church of which was dedicated in 1190. That it had an apsidal end we learn under its sixteenth abbot, who built (or probably rebuilt),¹ between 1343 and 1349, around it five chapels; the centre one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the others to St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Mary Magdalene, St. John the Baptist, and St. Martin. Of the dedications of the five chapels at Croxden we have no account. The centre one may safely be assumed to have been St. Mary's. The great altar stood, as shewn upon the plan (plate 14), within the main apse or *chevét*, and we have already quoted from the Chronicle several references to interments before it,—1, Nicholas de Verdun, son of the founder; 2, John de Verdun, who died in 1274; and 3, Johanna de Furnival, who died in 1334, and was buried between the other two. The probable positions of these interments are marked on the plan, plate 14. It is uncertain which of the noblemen lay to the north or south. Mr. Redford measured the positions of three stone coffins, which had recently been exposed, and which he saw. Neither of them is now visible; but their places, as ascertained by him, are marked on the plan. Two of them are in the ambulatory, behind the high altar, and are within that space of the *chevét* usually devoted to the remains of some peculiarly venerated patron saint. The situation of the interment of Philip de Barington in 1326, before the altar of St. Laurence, I am not able to indicate, as the Chronicle relates nothing of the position of that altar.

Extending south from the south transept, we proceed with the buildings of Abbot Walter de London. All of them are either named in the Chronicle as his work, or are clearly

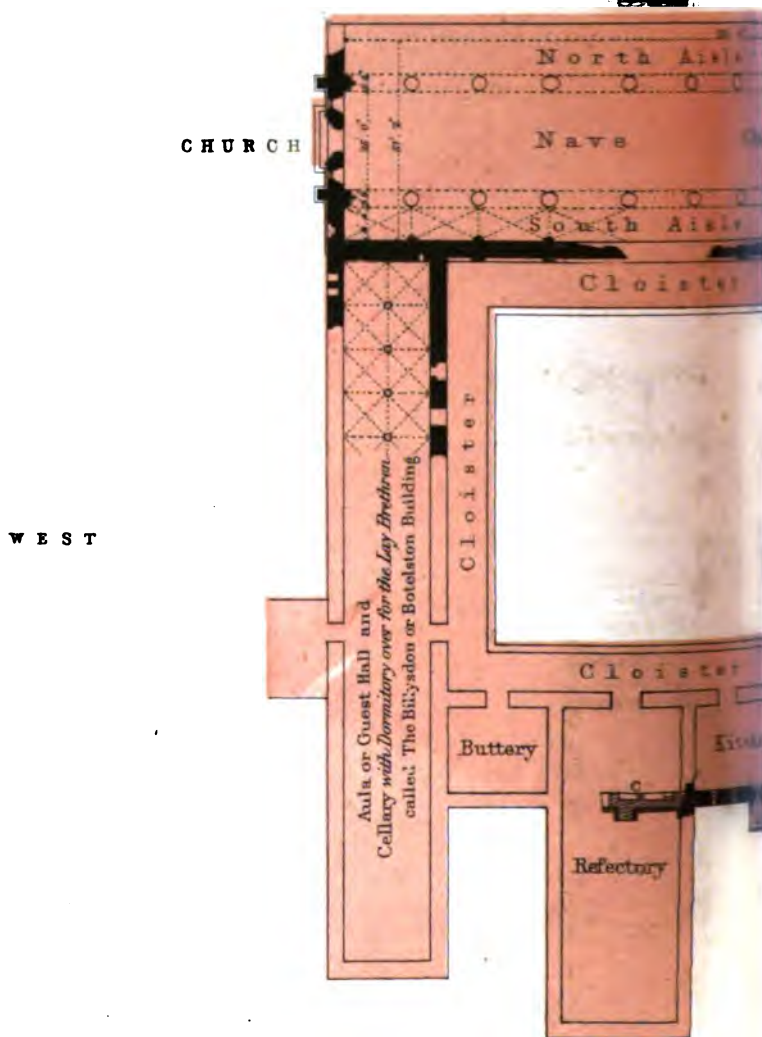
¹ Dumonstier, *Neustria Pia*, p. 766.

shewn to be so by their position and by natural inference. Adjoining the transept is the SACRISTY with a groined vault divided into two bays by a sharp, pointed arch, having one simple, broad archivolt without molding or chamfer. The manner in which the roof over these buildings cuts the transept windows countenances the idea that it was not originally intended to have attached this wing to this transept; and the fact that the external plinth of the transept runs along both bays of the sacristy, still further favours that notion. Nevertheless I think these circumstances only accidental, for the sacristy door and dormitory door in the end of the transept were from the first provided in the positions they now occupy, and suited to the buildings with which they communicate.

West of the sacristy, and divided from it by a wall, but opening to the monks' cloister, is a small chamber covered by a pointed barrel-vault wholly of cut stone. The door, partly walled up for modern purposes, is seen next the transept in the view (plate 16). The notice of the interment of Abbot William de Over shews this apartment to have been the SCAMNUM, or Exchange. The church door, before which he was buried, near the Scamnum in the monks' cloister, yet remains, and is a rich piece of work. Its jambs were ornamented, when perfect, with a double order of marble columns. (See fig. 6, plate 17.) There is some difficulty in giving a name to this small apartment. At Durham it is certain that here was the space used by traders who brought their wares for sale to the monks. *Scamnum*, literally a bench, often means a trader's bench or counter. In some other monasteries, just at the place indicated by the Croxden Chronicle, is a stone bench, or a recess for a wooden one, in the back wall of the cloister. In other instances, like Croxden, a small apartment is provided; another variety is where the whole sacristy is added to it, as at Durham.

Next, south, we come to the CHAPTER HOUSE, with its front of three arches towards the cloister. (See plates 14 and 16.) As usual, these arches formed an open screen without glazing or doors. A plan of the pier between the arches is given at fig. 7, plate 17. The central arch formed the entrance to the Chapter House; and the side-arches were enriched with geometrical tracery, which is destroyed. Within the Chapter

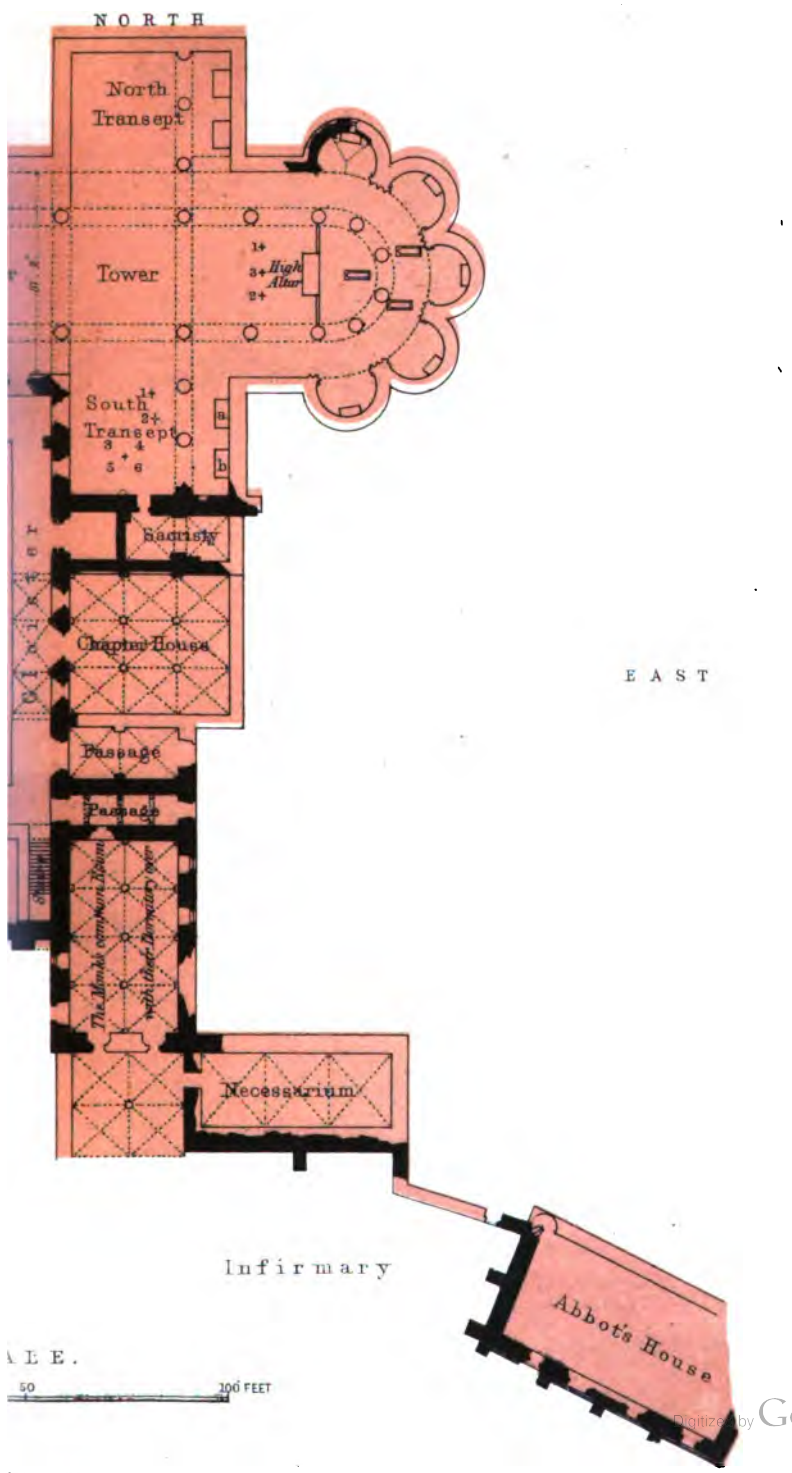
CROXDEN ABBEY.—GROUND PLAN.

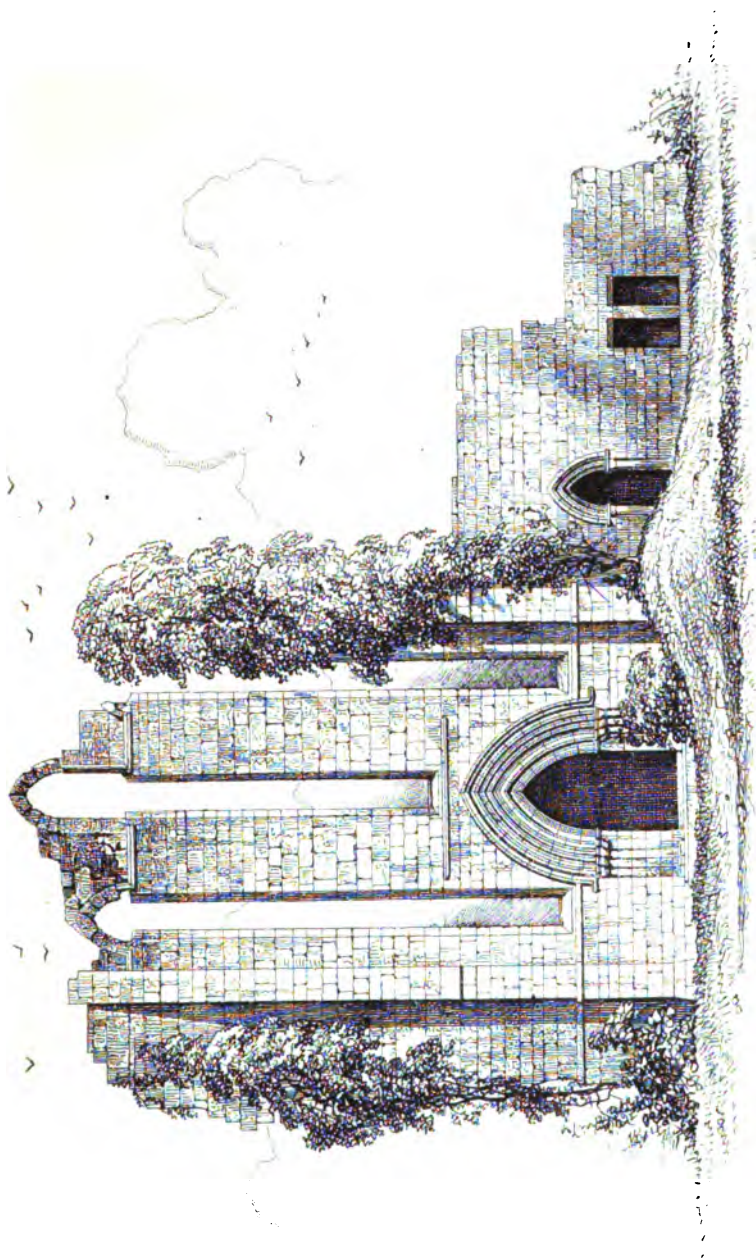


References.

- a. *Altar of the Holy Trinity*
- b. *Altar of St Benedict*
- c. *Wall constructed in modern times out of old materials*

Note. The Black shows the existing ancient walls.



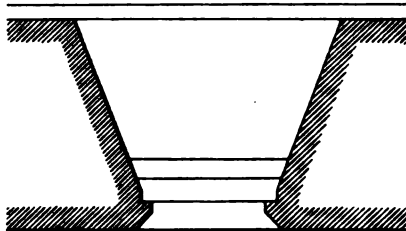


CROXDEN ABBEY, - VARIOUS DETAILS S.

2

West Door of Church
Section of Arch Moldings.

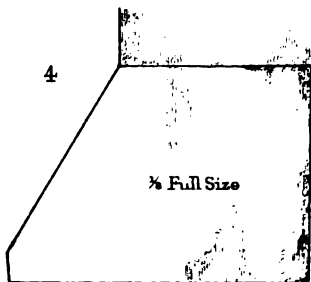
1



Plan of West Window of Church.

4

$\frac{1}{2}$ Full Size



Weathering of West Buttress

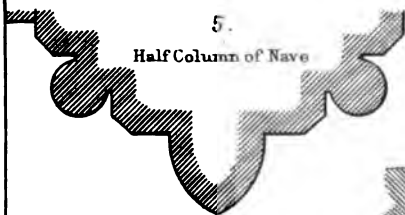
3



West Window

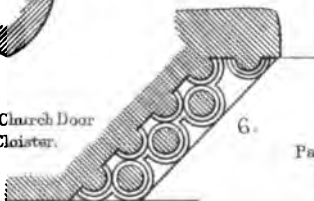
5.

Half Column of Nave



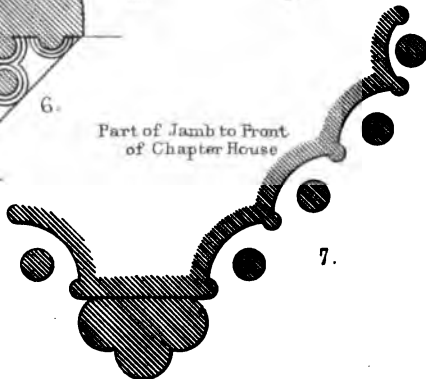
Jamb of Church Door
in Cloister.

6.



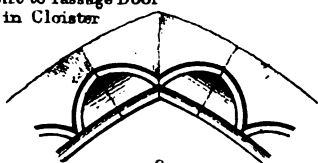
Part of Jamb to Front
of Chapter House

7.



Ornament to Passage Door
in Cloister

8



Scale for Fig^s 1, 5, 7 & 8, $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch to a Foot
Scale " " 2, 3, & 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ " " " "

House, the remains upon its north and west walls shew it to have been groined and vaulted so as to require four detached, supporting pillars near the centre of the apartment, forming the restored arrangement shewn in the plan, plate 14. In this apartment, where the convent daily assembled under the presidency of the abbot, were probably interred most of the abbots. Those already named in the Chronicle as lying here are,—Thomas de Woodstock, the first abbot; Walter de Chacumb, the second abbot, to the south of the first; John de Billysdon, the eighth abbot, to the north of the first; and Richard de Twyford, the ninth abbot, near Walter de Chacumb, beyond the pulpit or abbot's chair; which probably means that the first three lay under the central avenue or vault, and the last one under the south, as indicated by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, on the plan.

South of the CHAPTER HOUSE we come next to a passage-way which led from the cloister to the gardens of the monastery, mentioned more than once in the chronicle. The archway opening from the cloister (see plate 16 and detail fig. 8, plate 17) is well moulded and decorated with a cusped ornament. It was never furnished with a door, whilst the exit at the east end of the passage was a door complete, but totally devoid of moulding or ornament. The passage was arched over with a good groined vault.

The next archway to the south is smaller and plainer than the last, but, like it, was not provided with a door. This arch also forms the entrance to a passage which led to the gardens, and had a simple door in its east end. The vault of this passage remains perfect and is a pointed barrel vault with three simple ribs dividing its length. In the earlier monasteries it is not usual to find the passage as a part of the original arrangement; but the entrance from the cloister opens directly into the monks' common room, or day room, from which again there is a door opposite. The comfort of shutting off these two doorways from the common room soon became obvious, and in the early work it is very usual to find that the north end of the common room had been subsequently divided off to form both a porch to the room and exit to the gardens and cloister. At Croxden this convenient plan was adopted from the first.

The MONKS' COMMON ROOM, or day room, is nearly perfect, as to its walls, but has lost the vault which covered it

in four double bays, and which had three columns supporting it down the centre. It was lighted by lancet windows on the east, of which two remain nearly perfect. There were two in the south end and one lancet window and a door near that end of the west side. In the neighbourhood of this west door and window I looked for an object I have been accustomed to find at this spot in most monasteries, and one which for a long while puzzled me as to its use. I first discovered at Grey Abbey in the county of Down, in Ireland, that the little recess I expected to see at Croxden was a urinal ; and having once seen the contrivance in a most obvious form, I had no difficulty in observing it very palpably at Furness, Fountains, and Netley. I suspect that at Croxden it was outside and under the little arched recess (otherwise useless) at A. I doubt not that running across the common room near its south end would be found a drain. The matter seems worth naming as an evidence of the attention paid to personal comfort and convenience in mediæval buildings. Outside of this and turning to the east, we come to a building of which very little remains, but which was the NECESSARY HOUSE named in the Chronicle in 1334 as adjoining the dormitory. It lies, as usual, in a course suited for the passage of the main sewer of the monastery through it. It was covered with a groined vault in three bays, and no doubt had both upper and lower conveniences. Those who might think this building too important for the purpose may be referred to the immense structures of this nature at Fountains, to Netley, Furness, and other places where the object is most palpable. The dormitory (built by Walter de London) extended over the whole common room, passage, chapter house, and sacristy, except that against the church was in all probability the TREASURY, said in 1334 to be adjoining the DORMITORY. The TREASURY was most likely of equal extent with the sacristy. It occupies this position at Fountains. A part of the south end of the DORMITORY was appropriated to the NOVICIATE, from its first erection by Walter de London. The Chronicle, as I have quoted, speaks of all the roofs of this wing of the monastery (and, indeed, of all the roofs to which it alludes at all) as being covered with oak shingles at first furnished with wood gutters, but afterwards, in 1334, the gutters and ridges were made in lead. Although the walls of the upper

or dormitory story are almost wholly destroyed, the marks of the staircase which led to it are very evident outside the common room on its west side.

The east walk of the cloister terminated at the arch leading to the common room. Of the important buildings along the south side there remains but a fragment of the back wall, and this wall has been cut about and altered with work of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and by modern hands.

Along the south side of the CLOISTER we find, first, at its east end was the staircase to the dormitory, of which the remains are very distinct. A perfect doorway of the thirteenth century in the back wall led from the kitchen into the south grounds of the abbey; the position of the kitchen, corresponding with that at Fountains, is here clearly marked by the remains of a large and fine oven. Beyond the kitchen westward the back wall is in part late mediæval work, in the greater part a modern one, in which old material has been put together with a fair share of rustic architectural ingenuity. The abutment of the refectory wall has fortunately not been defaced, although tampered with; and there is just enough even of its architecture to show that here stood in the usual Cistercian position, end on to the cloister, the REFECTORY built by Walter de London, and mentioned in 1333; whilst in the style of the kitchen doorway and windows, the work there is proved to be the same which this abbot erected. The length given to the refectory in the plan is conjectural, as there is nothing visible to define its southern end. It was in this apartment, in 1301, that the monks and convent were taking, as accustomed, their morning meal, when they were terrified by the shock of an earthquake. The south range of building was completed, no doubt, by the buttery, although that apartment is not named in the Chronicle.

We next have to consider the west wing of the monastery, usually occupied by the cellarer's stores and by the *conversi* or lay brethren of the convent. The remains of it are very slight, but enough to shew that its ground-story was vaulted and groined in two avenues, with a row of columns down the middle; that in the four bays in which there remain distinct evidences of the vault, the vault was of two periods; the corbels against the church wall being coeval with the church, whilst all the others are identical with those of the

late work, yet to be noticed, at the end of the monks' common room. Above the vault is part of the door-jamb in the church wall, where was the way from the lay dormitory into the church for the night services. The Chronicle, as already quoted, speaks of the building called Botelsdon, which fell in 1368, except three couples (*i.e.*, three bays or pairs of the vault), from the church to the HALL, and was rebuilt in timber the next year. Afterwards it was again rebuilt in stone, as the circumstances seem to indicate. This CELLARY obtained the name of the "Botelsdon Building," and the late vaulting must have been erected after 1368. It is extremely probable that some part of this Botelsdon or Billysdon Building formed the HALL or guest-house here spoken of.

The CLOISTER OF THE MONKS was within the quadrangle which we have now surveyed; though mentioned (1308, 1332, 1374) in the Chronicle, its first erection is not recorded. It must, however, have been the work of the great builder, Walter de London. The evidence of this is the existence between the arches forming the front of the chapter house of the springing of a groined vault coeval with that work of his. The marks of the cloister roof appear on the western building; but it was not vaulted there, nor against the church. In fact, it is clear that the cloister was arched over only along the front of the chapter house; and so sadly shaken and dilapidated are the beautiful arches there (held together now by a rude piece of chain and a few wedges), that it is much to be feared this curious piece of information respecting the cloister will soon lose its positive evidence.

Of the abbot's house, built by William de Howton between 1268 and 1274, the fragments are scanty and ruinous, yet sufficient to be identified with a work of that date. In 1335 and 1336 we have heard of the new CHAMBER built by abbot Richard de Schepished, between the kitchen of the INFIRMARY and the DORMITORY. There are evidences of this work against the dormitory and monks' common room and the necessary house; and the vaulting of it has corbels exactly like those already referred to in the late vaulting of the cellary. This work blocked up the end windows of the common room. The CHAMBER OF THE ABBOT and the INFIRMARY are again spoken of together in 1372, and it is therefore certain that the infirmary, where dwelt the aged and infirm of the house, and those suffering from sickness, was about where

indicated in the plan, to the south of the abbot's house and the monks' dormitory. The INFIRMARY formed a small quadrangle of its own, and had a CLOISTER, and was all built by Walter de London; but nothing of it now remains.

I do not know that the exact position of the abbey sewer has been discovered. It would be found somewhere along the south side of the buildings, probably passing near to, or even under the end of the REFECTORY, and thence going towards the necessary house and the abbot's house, and turning off to the stream called the Peak in the bottom of the valley. The Rev. Dr. Winter, of Alton, has repeated in print a tradition that a subterranean passage connects Croxden Abbey with Alton Church. It seems almost superfluous to say that the passage to which this tradition refers is simply the sewer of which I have above spoken, and the existence of the tradition is an evidence that no great difficulty would exist in discovering the sewer, as has been done at other places, where a similar report has even exactly indicated the place where a successful search has disclosed the work.

We have carried the history of the abbey down to the election of William de Gunston, the sixteenth abbot, which is beyond the period to which the Chronicle was carried by William de Schepished, the original compiler. The regularity of the form of the Chronicle ceases at the year 1327,¹ but the same hand seems to have continued it, occupying himself at intervals with contemporaneous events down to 1347, when a new handwriting appears, and the aged and worthy monk, after fifty-nine years spent within the walls of the monastery, must have been taken to his last rest. In the Chronicle he speaks of himself as of any other monk, merely calling himself brother W., or brother William de Schepished. At the year 1295, where he affectionately records the death of his mother Millicent, he suppresses

¹ From the year 1071 down to 1331, at every tenth year, omitting only the year 1201, the compiler gives the corresponding year of the world's age. In doing this he adopts the chronology of Eusebius of Cesarea, which makes the first year of the Christian era to be A.M. 5200: thus his first entry at A.D. 1071 is A.M. 6270, and his last at A.D. 1331 is A.M. 6530. This differs by an excess of 1196 years from the reckoning which the authority of Archbishop Usher's name has caused to prevail for two hundred years in England. Whatever the old monk may have known of the perplexities which in all history have pervaded the question, it is certain, had he lived now he would have felt himself in infinitely greater difficulty from the revelations of modern science.

his name, saying merely, "Died Millicent, the mother of him writing this book." It is not in the Chronicle, but in a prefix to it that he discovers himself as the author. Now at the end, but originally at the beginning, is a list of the names of the abbots and of the monks admitted under each. William de Schepished places his own name with those admitted under Abbot Billysdon, and at this place informs us that he is the compiler of the Chronicles and also of the List, which latter he had made for a pious memorial of the dead, and for the solace of the living. Of this list we have already made some use. By the occurrence of the name of a monk, Henry de Bitlisden, under abbot Billysdon, the variation is supplied which connects abbot Billysdon with the Botelston building, and by it the succession of Alexander de Colbeley to abbot Richard de Schepished is established, a fact which is wanting in the Chronicle. From it we may also add respecting the abbots John de Bellysdon, Richard de Twyford, William de Over, Richard de Esseby, Thomas de Castreton, Richard de Schepished, and William de Gunston, that each of them was originally a simple monk of the house. Like the Chronicle, the List was continued after the death of William de Schepished, so as to furnish, except the last abbot, a complete list of those dignitaries, which we may therefore continue from William de Gunston, the last named in the Chronicle.

17. Philip Ludlow. He originally became a monk under Richard de Schepished.

18. Roger Preston. His first profession as a monk was under Philip Ludlow.

19. John de Bromefield succeeded Roger Preston.

20. William Burton was the next abbot.

21. Ralph Layland succeeded him, having first become a monk under Roger Preston.

22. John Walton was the next abbot, originally a monk under Ralph Layland.

23. John Shipton, at first abbot of Hulton in Staffordshire, was elected abbot of Croxden in 1519, and is the latest in the list.

The names of the monks are given from Walter de London down to Ralph Layland, and amount to 229 in all. Judging by the numbers admitted under each abbot, it appears that Walter de London, Henry de Moysham, and

Richard de Schepeshed were most distinguished among the abbots for the strength of their convent, a mark in each case both of popularity and prosperity. At the time of the suppression under the next abbot, the monastery contained, according to Bishop Tanner, twelve monks besides the abbot. The noviciates *conversi*, or lay brothers and servants of the monastery, would probably swell the number of its inhabitants to from seventy to ninety persons.

24. The particulars of the last days of the monastery are here given from sources independent of the Chronicle. *Thomas Chawner* was the last abbot. His government terminated with the thirtieth year of King Henry VIII, A.D. 1539. So good a report did his house obtain, or so great was his interest and favor with the Earl of Essex and the King his master, that it escaped the destruction aimed at it when all the smaller monasteries, to which class it belonged, were despoiled by Act of Parliament in 1536 and 1537. The respite was only for two years, and when the second Act was passed, which suppressed every remaining monastery in the kingdom, Croxden Abbey became tenantless and deserted in 1539. Six years later the site of the abbey was granted by the King to Jeffrey Foljambe. It is at present owned by the Earl of Macclesfield.

Of the patrons of the monastery it may be added that after only two successions in the family of the Furnivals, who followed the Verduns, the patronage passed by marriage to Thomas Nevil, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland, and then again by the same cause to the famous Sir John Talbot and the noble line of the Earls of Shrewsbury.

ON ANDREA FERARA SWORDS.

BY GEORGE VERN IRVING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

IN redemption of the promise I made at the last meeting of our summer session, I now lay on the table drawings and tracings of a considerable number of these swords. For the majority of these I am indebted to our associate, J. B. Greenshields, Esq. I was at one time in hopes that he would have been able to relieve me of the duty of describing them, being so well qualified to do so by the numerous specimens preserved in the district where he resides, which he has had an opportunity of personally examining; but unfortunately he has been prevented by ill health from undertaking the preparation of the paper, to the value of which his researches have so much contributed. I am happy, however, to say that, after a visit to the south of England, he has so far recovered as to be able to resume his inquiries; the result of which, I hope, will be an exhaustive paper, not only on Ferara blades, but on our Scotch broad-swords in general.

The tracings which I lay upon the table are those of twenty-five weapons in the several collections belonging to Mr. Greenshields, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Sim Lesmahago, Mr. M'Kirdy, Andersonian Museum, Scottish Museum; and it is remarkable that they comprise no less than *seven* variations in the spelling of the name; and, if its position is taken into account, not fewer than *fifteen* varieties, of which the following is an analysis :

1. ANDREA FERARA.

a. "Andrea" on the one side of the blade, "Ferara" on the other; of which there are three examples, viz., in the *Johnstone* collection two specimens, and in the *Lesmahago* one. The last example is said to have been presented by the Duke of Cumberland to one of the persons who was engaged in the dastardly arrest of Kinloch Mordant when passing through Lesmahago in 1746. For my own part I am not inclined to lay much stress upon the ornaments on the Ferara blades, with the exception of the animal which resembles the fox of Passau, but so rudely drawn that Mr.

Cuming is inclined to assign it to the time of Charles II. It only occurs on the third example, along with a curious repetition of the letter w. Two of the examples have the orb; one of these, and the third, have pellets and ornaments common on both swords. One has also two ornaments common on Andrea Ferara blades, viz., two eccentric circles and the letter ε with a horizontal line projecting forward from its centre, and crossed by two others perpendicularly.

b. "Andrea" above, "Ferara" below, on both sides. One example. *M'Kirdy* collection. Ornaments, pellets, eccentric circles, and St. Andrew crosses, between the words.

c. "Andrea Ferara" in one horizontal line on both sides of blade. One example from *Mr. Sim's* collection, one from the *Scottish Museum*, and one from *M'Kirdy's* collection. The ornaments are pellets and eccentric circles.

d. "Andrea Ferara" in a horizontal line, but repeated twice on both sides. The ornaments are, pellets, orb, the ε ornament before described, eccentric circles, animals, orb, rose with a cross through it, a figure resembling a spur. There are two examples of this in the *Scottish Museum*, one belongs to *Mr. Johnstone*, and a fourth to *Mr. Greenshields*.

II. ANDREIA FERARA

on both sides. One example in the *Lesmahago* collection. Ornamented with pellets and eccentric circles.

III. ANDRIA FERARA.

a. in a horizontal line on both sides. One example from *Mr. Sim's* collection. It has a single fluted ornament approaching a Maltese cross, and is said to have been used in 1745.

b. "Andria" above, "Ferara" below on both sides. One example of *Mr. Sim's*. Ornamented with pellets and eccentric circles.

c. "Andria" on one side of the blade, "Ferara" on the other. An example from *Mr. Sim's*, and one from the *Scottish Museum*. Ornamented with pellets, orb, and the ε ornament.

IV. ANDREA FARARA.

a. in a horizontal line on both sides. One example be-

longs to *Mr. Sim*. Ornamented with a triple repetition of St. Andrew's cross.

b. "Andrea" above, "Farara" below, on both sides. There is of this one example in the *Scottish Museum*, ornamented with a double repetition of St. Andrew's cross.

V. ANDREIA FARARA.

a. in a horizontal line on both sides. Two examples occur,—one in the *Johnstone* collection, the other in *Mr. Greenshields'*, ornamented with pellets, orb, eccentric circles, and lines; and on *Mr. Greenshields'* the motto, *Soli Deo Gloria*.

b. "Andreia" above, and "Farara" below, on both sides. Of this, one example is in the *M'Kirdy* collection, ornamented with pellets and the Σ ornament.

VI. ANDRIA FARARA.

a. in one horizontal line on both sides. The one example is from the *Andersonian Museum*. The ornaments are a cross with the animal.

b. The same arranged Λ^A_F The one example of this is in the *M'Kirdy* collection, ornamented with pellets.

VII. ANDREA FERARE

occurs on one example in the *M'Kirdy* collection, with ornaments,—the orb, a variation of the eccentric circles, and a sort of star.

To these varieties of marking we must add the following :

1. The sword exhibited to us, which led to this investigation, with "Andrea Ferara" in three horizontal lines on both sides.

2. "Andrea Ferara *em Lisboa*," which occurs on a sword in the possession of Brodie of Brodie. This blade is mounted in the common Indian hilt, which covers the greater part of the inscription, and was most probably obtained by its native owner from the Portuguese settlement at Goa.

3. "Piero Ferara." I am indebted to Mr. Cuming for calling my attention to a sword with this name, belonging to Mr. Newington Hughes, exhibited at our Winchester Con-

gress (*Journal*, i, 365). This gentleman has since died, and his collection has been dispersed.

4. "Cosmo Ferara," which occurs on a blade in the possession of the Count d'Albanie. This gentleman also informs me that he has seen the name of Ferara coupled with that of the town of Solingen.

These facts inevitably lead to the conclusion that we have to deal, *not* with the productions of a single armourer, but with those of a succession of persons with the same or nearly similar names. I do not attach much importance to the variations in the spelling of the names of private persons, from being aware of the great latitude which persons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave themselves in this respect. Indeed, I think I could produce from the MSS. in the British Museum a remarkable instance of this, where a Scotch nobleman in three consecutive weeks spells his name in as many different ways; but I most decidedly doubt if this ever extended to those constituting trade-marks.

The two main questions we have to deal with are,—1st, the date of those swords, or rather of the earliest of them; and 2, the country in which they were fabricated; and on both our information is most scanty.

1st, Date. The two earliest examples, undoubtedly, are the cutlass referred to by Mr. Cuming in the *Journal*¹ as engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, and the double-handed sword in Mr. Johnstone's collection. The former is referred to the early part of the sixteenth century, the second cannot be much later. Both bear the same mark,—the "Andrea" on the one side of the blade, the "Ferara" on the other. The inscriptions in both cases are in letters, which were not used in Scotland till the reign of Queen Mary, towards the middle of the century, but might have been previously used abroad. The motto, *Soli Deo Gloria*, appears to have been one peculiar to the Stuart kings after their accession to the English throne, as witness their "touch-pieces."

The legends of Andrea Ferara being brought to Scotland by James IV or V, and working in the Highlands, tempering blades in a dark cellar, and of his having killed his son in consequence of detecting him prying into his secret, may be ranged with the other myths in which such poetic antiquaries as Sir Walter Scott indulged. The fact that

¹ Vol. xx, p. 345. Dec. 1864.

the sword with which James IV fought at Flodden, now preserved in the College of Arms, is by a different maker, negatives the idea of his having brought Andrea Ferara to Scotland.

2nd, Country. At first sight, the name Ferara draws your attention to Italy, and reminds one of the well-known Milanese armour. This, however, on investigation, proves to be wrong. Very early in the inquiry Mr. Greenshields called my attention to the fact, that although the Italian town had always two R's, only one ever appeared on the swords. He subsequently forwarded to me a copy of a letter which a draper in the village of Lesmahago had sent, through such a simple conveyance as a bank parcel, to the King of Italy, asking if any Ferara swords were preserved at Turin, and of a reply from the director "della Regia Galleria di Armatura ed Arnése, antichi e moderne," by the special directions of *il Rè Galantuomo*, by which it appears that weapons with this inscription are totally unknown, either in this collection, or to the Italian antiquaries generally. Spain, therefore, was the next resource. In the Royal Arsenal at Madrid, there is, perhaps, the finest collection of Ferara blades in existence, which are reported to have been the property of the Duke of Alva. In Portugal, the name, although generally spelt Ferreira, is common. The two gentlemen who head the list of the Committee of the projected International Exhibition at Oporto, are so designated. Although *Ferrum* and its derivatives is very suggestive of workers in iron, I believe that this succession of armourers adopted their names from the town of Feraria, in the province of Corunna, in the north of Spain.¹

¹ See Madox, *Dict. d'España*.

ON A GERMAN SABRE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

MR. HEWITT, in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute (xix, 318), has brought to notice an "unique example of a sabre with finger-guard, of the beginning of the sixteenth century," now preserved in the armoury at the Rotunda, Woolwich. This interesting communication induces me to lay before the Association a sabre, which if it have no claim to be styled unique, is unquestionably of rarity, and well deserves consideration, not only on account of its guard, but also for its blade.

The most ancient swords seem to have been made without any distinct guard; but some of the Roman *gladii* had a *mora* dividing the grip and blade, and which appears to have gradually been extended in width until the sixteenth century, when we find some of the huge *espedons* with cross-bars measuring upwards of sixteen inches from tip to tip. It was by depressing the cross behind, and elevating it in front, that the first finger-guard was produced, and which for some time remained unattached to the pommel, as in the example at Woolwich and the sabre under review. Mr. Hewitt has traced this type of finger-guard from the second half of the fifteenth to the commencement of the seventeenth century, but in no instance does he mention its being conjoined with a protection for the thumb and knuckles, as seen in the example I exhibit, and which cannot be assigned to a later era than that of Henry VIII. In Skelton (cxiii, 16) is engraved a stiletto with a very similar shell-shaped knuckle-guard, which is referred to the close of the reign of Henry VII, or the beginning of that of his son, Henry VIII.

The pommel and guard of our sabre are of iron, blackened in the same way as the bills and armour were wont to be in the sixteenth century, and the grip is of wood. The blade, of well-tempered steel, is two feet six inches in length, and one inch and three-eighths wide next the hilt, with a broad channel on either side towards the back, and

stamped with the device of a wolf courant, and the number 1778. The late Sir Samuel Meyrick pronounced the blade and hilt of this sabre to be of the same date, the device to be the mark of Passau, and the figures to be the maker's number.

So early as the thirteenth century the Bavarian town of Passau on the Danube was renowned for its *wolfs-klingen*, or *wolf-blades*, and many examples have come down to us bearing the numbers 1414, 1441, and 1515, but the specimen under consideration is the only one I have met with with so high a number as 1778.

The animal on the Passau blades being erroneously supposed to represent a fox, weapons displaying this mark were frequently termed *foxes*, allusions to which practice are to be found in the pages of several of our older dramatists. Thus in Shakspeare's play of *Henry V* (iv, 4) Pistol tells the French soldier—

“O Signieur Dewe, thou dy'st on point of fox!”

In Webster's *White Devil; or Vittoria Corombona, a Lady of Venice*, Flamineo asks, in the fifth act—

“O! what blade is 't?”

A Toledo or an English fox?

I ever thought a cutler should distinguish

The cause of my death rather than a doctor.

Search my wound deeper: tent it with the steel that made it.”

Cokes in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (ii, 6) exclaims: “What would you have, sister, of a fellow that knows nothing but a basket-hilt, and an old *fox* in it?” the best music in the fair will not move a log.”

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster; or, Love lies a Bleeding* (act iv), one of the characters says; “I made my father's old *fox* fly about his ears.”

In Thomas Killegrew's *Parson's Wedding* (i, 1), Parson says to Mrs. Wanton: “Why, dost thou think I fear him? no, wench, I know him too well for a cowardly slave, that dares as soon eat his *fox* as draw it in earnest; the slave's noted to make a conscience of nothing but fighting.”

The title of *fox* for a sword was not quite forgotten in the eighteenth century, for Sir Wilful Witwoud, in Congreve's play of *The Way of the World* (v, 10), says: “I

have an old *fox* by my thigh shall hack your instrument of ram vellum to shreds."

There is a strange mingling of truth and error in Gröse's explanation of the above title. In his *Classical Dictionary* he tells us: "*Fox*. An old term for a sword, probably a rusty one, or else from its being dyed red with blood; some say this name alluded to certain swords of a remarkable good temper, or metal, marked with the figure of a fox, probably the sign, or rebus, of the maker."

It is worthy of note, that whilst the earliest Passau mark is distinctly a wolf, as on the sabre before you, that of later times had much the aspect of a fox, in proof of which I produce a hunting sword of the reign of William III, which, in addition to the number 1414 on each side of its straight two-edged blade, displays the wolf in full speed, and with an ample *brush* (see plate, fig. 2). This is a remarkably fine example of its kind, and was once in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever, forming a portion of lot 6319 at the sale of his museum in 1806.

I would just observe, in conclusion, that the sabre at Woolwich is certainly of German fabric, and that the engraving on its blade, if not the work of Albert Durer, belongs to his school and era.

ON CHARMS EMPLOYED IN CATTLE DISEASE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

At a time when murrain is ravaging our farms and dairies, and spreading dismay throughout the land, it is curious to reflect on some of the superstitious means formerly resorted to, to stay the plague, and cure the infected cattle. Many of the maladies that befel the poor beasts were attributed to the malevolence of elves and fairies, whose weapons of attack were supposed to be flint arrow-blades, imbued in dew of hemlock, and mounted on shafts of bog-reed. Collins, in his *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1788, p. 10), says when speaking of the fairies:—

“There every herd by sad experience knows
 How wing'd with fate their elf-shot arrows fly,
 When the sick ewe her summer food foregoes,
 Or stretch'd on earth the heart-smit heifers lie.”

Pennant, in his *Tour* (i, 115), has a passage so pertinent to our subject, that I venture to quote it at length. He says—“The stone arrow-heads of the old inhabitants of this island are supposed to be weapons shot by fairies at cattle, to which are attributed any disorders they have. In order to effect a cure, the cow is to be touched by an *elf-shot*, or made to drink the water in which one has been dipped.¹ The same virtue is said to be found in the *crystal gems*, and in the *adder-stone*; and it is also believed that good fortune must attend the owner; so, for that reason, the first is called the *clach bhui*, or the powerful stone.” Pennant adds, “Captain Archibald Campbell showed me one, a spheroid, set in silver, for the use of which people came above a hundred miles, and brought the water it was to be dipt in with them, for, without that, in human cases, it was believed to have no effect.”

Vallancey, in his *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (No. xiii, 17), relates that, “In the Highlands of Scotland a large crystal, of a figure somewhat oval, was kept by the priests to work charms by; water poured upon it at this day is given to cattle against disease. These stones are now preserved by the oldest and most superstitious in the country; they were once common in Ireland.” One of the most celebrated Irish balls of crystal is in the possession of the Marquis of Waterford, and traditionally stated to have been brought from Palestine during the Holy Wars by one of his lordship's Le Poer ancestors. When pestilence appears, the amulet is in great request, to be placed in the water given to the cattle to drink, or in a brook, through which they are driven backward and forward, under the conviction that a certain cure will thereby be effected.

In the Museum of the Scottish antiquaries, at Edinburgh, are “four perforated round stones, or whorls, called snake stones, used in the Lewis as charms against diseases of

¹ For the convenience of dipping the elf-bolt in water, and wearing it about the person as an amulet against the *aitheada*, or the evil eye, it was mounted in a silver frame with a loop at the broad end. One so accoutred is given in the *Nenia Britannica*, pl. 33, fig. 6, and in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Part IV, pl. 4, fig. 11, p. 49.

cattle." And in Galloway, ancient perforated discs of black shale, five or six inches in diameter, are employed to counteract the supposed effects of witchcraft, especially in black cattle and horses.¹ These whorls, or fairy mill-stones, and perforated discs, bring to mind the holy stone, or hag-stone, suspended in stables as a charm against nightmare, an affliction believed to be brought on by the nocturnal fiend, Mara, and, hence, frequently denominated witch-riding. Aubrey, in his *Miscellanies* (p. 147), says—"To hinder the nightmare, they hang in a string a flint with a hole in it (naturally), by the manger, but, best of all, they say, hung about their necks, and a flint will do it that hath not a hole in it. It is to prevent the nightmare, viz., the hag, from riding their horses, who will sometimes sweat at night. The flint thus hung will hinder it." Allusion is made to this belief in *Hudibras* (B. 11, c. iii., 291), where we are told that the conjuror could

"Chase evil spirits away by dint
Of sickle horse-shoe, hollow flint."

Of all the lithic amulets employed in the cure of infected cattle, none have acquired a higher renown than the *lee stone*, or *lee penny*, as it is commonly called, and of which I am enabled, through the kindness of Lord Boston, to exhibit a sketch. The history of this remarkable trinket is full of romance, and suggested to Sir Walter Scott the idea of *The Talisman*, in the preface to which novel may be seen some curious particulars respecting it.² According to the legend, Robert Bruce desired that, after death, his heart should be borne to the Holy Land by Sir James Douglas; and in the year 1329, the latter, accompanied by Sir Simon Locard, of Lee, proceeded on the mission. On reaching Spain, the Scots had a brush with the Moors, in which Douglas was killed, and the command of the party falling on Sir Simon, he turned homewards with Bruce's heart, which was ultimately interred in Dunfermline Abbey. In the encounter which cost Sir James his life, Sir Simon had the good luck to capture a Saracen chieftan, for part of

¹ See *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, iv, 196.

² Engravings of this amulet are given in the *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1787, p. 1045; Hone's *Table-Book*, ii, 143; and Irving and Murray's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, ii, 291; and further notices of it in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, iii, 327; and Chambers's *Information for the People*, No. 48, p. 768.

whose ransom he received the trinket in question. Whilst the prisoner's wife was telling out the gold from her purse, she let fall the ruddy gem, and seemed so anxious for its recovery, that Locard, deeming it to be of greater value than the shining pieces, insisted that it should be added to them. The lady, to free her lord, consented, and informed the greedy Scot that its value consisted in its power over sick cattle, curing them of murrain and other ailments, and being also a sovereign remedy against the bite of the mad dog. So runs the legend, and so faithfully was it believed in all its details, that the lee penny was exempted from anathema when the Scottish clergy were denouncing other superstitions. They even went so far as to extol its virtues, and it continued to be resorted to for the cure of infected cattle to a very recent period. The lee stone appears to be the deep-red variety of carnelian-agate, called *hæmachates*; it is a heart-shaped pebble, measuring about half-an-inch each way, and is set in a silver coin above an inch in diameter. This coin is described by some as of the Lower Empire, whilst others state it to be "a shilling of Edward I.," but the latter notion is at once disposed of by the fact that Henry VII was the first monarch who issued money of that denomination, and, moreover, the size of the piece indicates it to be a groat, a coin which first appeared in England under Edward III, and in Scotland under David II. The margin of the lee penny is pierced, to permit the attachment of a silver chain, at the end of which is a ring, for the convenience of dipping the trinket into the water to be administered to the sufferers as a curative draught. This type of charm, though of the utmost rarity, is not quite unique, for, a few years since, a nearly similar trinket was exposed for sale in a pawnbroker's shop window in the London Road, and in which an old groat constituted the mounting. I also exhibit a pebble of *hæmachates*, so closely resembling that in the lee penny, that a gentleman who saw it declared that it must have fallen out of the far-famed amulet. It was obtained in Majorca about thirty years since, and is now placed on tinsel paper of the size of the lee penny.

Among other stony amulets potent against the spells of witchcraft and pestiferous influence of the evil eye, are the joints of the fossil encrinite, called St. Cuthbert's beads, and the pholas-pierced globose zoophytes, known as fairy,

or adder beads, of which I produce examples ; and next pass on to some of the marvels of the vegetable kingdom.

It is related by Heron, in his *Journey through Part of Scotland* (ii., 228), that "cattle are subject to be injured by what is called an evil eye, for some persons are supposed to have naturally a blasting power in their eyes, with which they injure whatever offends, or is hopelessly desired by them. Witches and warlocks are also much disposed to wreak their malignity on cattle. It is common to bind into a cow's tail a small piece of mountain-ash wood, as a charm against witchcraft."

In England, the twigs and branches of a shrew-ash were wont to be applied to the afflicted parts of horses, cows, and sheep whose sufferings were supposed to be occasioned by a shrew-mouse having passed over their agonised limbs. How to make a shrew-ash is briefly set forth in White's *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (ed. 1836, p. 187), where we learn that a deep hole is to be sunk in the tree with an auger, the shrew-mouse thrust in alive, and the aperture plugged up to prevent its escape.

It has long been observed that several tropical fruits, known collectively as Orkney or Molacca nuts or beans, have been cast ashore on the western isles of Scotland,¹ and the mystery attending their presence has gained for them a superstitious reverence which has led to their adoption as charms. One of these fruits, the *guilandina bonduc*, or nicker nut, from its introduction into rosaries as gaudia, has acquired the title of the Virgin Mary's nut, and is highly esteemed as an amulet against witchcraft and the evil eye, those fertile causes of disease in all creatures. Martin, in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (p. 38), tells us of the value of the Virgin Mary's nut as a remedy when the kine yield blood instead of milk, and shows how it must be placed in the pail whilst the afflicted cow is being milked, and how it makes the milk to come good and pure as desired. I place before you examples of these talismanic nuts, perforated lengthwise, to be strung either as gaudia in a rosary, or amulets to suspend about the person. They were purchased at the sale of the Leverian

¹ See *General Contents of the British Museum*, 1762, p. 153 and Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary.

Museum, in 1806, and were then considered very old specimens. These nuts are frequently denominated snakes'-eggs, from their close resemblance to ophidian ova, and the "bracelet of serpents' eggs" which Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, attributes to Ogygius, was probably composed of white nicker nuts, strung like those you have just seen; and the title of snakes' eggs connects the fruit, in name, with the glain neidr of the Druids, and, doubtlessly, raises it in the esteem of the credulous.

All the amulets we have been considering consist of natural products; but the Irish people, remembering how the Israelites of old, when bitten by fiery serpents, were healed by looking on a serpent of brass,¹ and how the Philistines made five golden images of the mice that marred their land,² strove to stay the ravages of murrain by constructing effigies of the supposed cause of the pestilence—the connoch, or larva, of the emperor moth (*saturnia pavonia*), and which effigies were kept in certain monasteries, and hired out when the plague was rife among the beasts. I exhibit carefully-coloured representations of two of these caterpillar amulets, found in the county of Cork, and both composed of silver, thickly set with glass and enamel of various hues, and each creature slightly waved, as if in motion. The largest measures about $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length, and 2 inches in circumference, its prevailing colour being dark amber, with a narrow red band down the back, and a deep blue band on each side. This fine connoch was discovered in April, 1845, near Timoleague, where there is a Franciscan abbey, to which it may have belonged. The second connoch is somewhat slenderer, and less brilliant in hue than that from Timoleague, the general colour being a thick, pale blue, with a yellow stripe along the back. It was dug up near Doneraile, in 1834.³ Mr. John Lindsay, who first brought these curious connochs to notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (June, 1844, p. 588), says that now

¹ Numbers xxi, 8.

² I Samuel vi, 45.

³ The late Mr. T. L. Fish of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth, had a splendid lizard of metal set all over with colourless paste, in the manner of the above caterpillar amulets; and whilst writing I have before me Egyptian *uræi* of bronze, with their breasts set with red and green enamel; and a Burmese shrine representing the eagle-god Garuda, in which the plumage is set with plaques of glass coloured with white, yellow, and green amalgam. In the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, April 1860, is an interesting account of Irish Medical superstitions, by the late Mr. John Windele.

the amulet against the murrain "is merely a consecrated stone hung round the neck of the animal infected."

Such were a few of the mystic remedies invoked by the superstitious to arrest the progress of disease in cattle. The amulet was applied to the suffering beast, or plunged in the water which it drank, and the creature, through vigour of system or judicious treatment, regained its health, and one such recovery told tenfold more in favour of the charm than hundreds of deaths told against it. And so belief in such vain remedies became firmly rooted in the popular mind ; so firmly that, with all our vaunted advance of intelligence, there are not wanting, even in this so-called enlightened age, those who put faith in odd-shaped stones, fragments of certain woods, bits of old iron, words of strange sound, and worthless scrip of uncouth formula.

ACCOUNT OF ANGLO-SAXON JEWELLERY, ETC.

FOUND AT SEAMER IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.

At the beginning of the month of October, 1857, I visited the late Lord Londesborough, who was then residing in his lodge, at Scarborough. We had commenced the excavation of a very large barrow, known popularly by the name of Willey-hou,¹ some miles to the south of that town, where, a day or two before my arrival at Scarborough, one or two ornaments of the person, of undoubted Anglo-Saxon character, had been brought into Scarborough by a market-woman for sale, and came accidentally into Lord Londesborough's possession. An old keeper, who was well acquainted with his lordship's vast estates in that part of the country, had succeeded, on the Wednesday, in tracing the spot where these ornaments were found, and Lord Londesborough resolved to commence immediate excavations, leaving the men to continue their work at the great barrow of Willey-hou under the direction of one of his servants.

¹ I have given an account of the excavations in the barrow at Willey-hou in my *Essay on Archæological Subjects*, vol. i, p. 7.

The rather large village of Seamer, which was once a market town, is situated about four miles to the south-west of Scarborough. Within the parish, a little nearer to Scarborough, the chalk, on the extremity of the district known as Seamer Moor, rises into a round knoll, of not very great elevation. From the recent discoveries, it appears that the brow of this knoll was occupied by an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. During a long course of years, however, a large portion of one side of the knoll has been gradually cut away by the operations of a very extensive lime-quarry, which there can be little doubt has destroyed the greater part of the cemetery, without leaving any record of its contents. It is, however, remembered by people in the parish, that about twenty years ago, the quarrymen, in clearing away the surface earth, found a number of skeletons, which very considerably, they gathered together and buried in Seamer churchyard, but no one knows whether any personal ornaments, or any other articles were found with them. All articles of this description were, no doubt, scattered and lost, and it is impossible to say how many other such deposits have been destroyed in the course of the formation of the quarry, without being noticed, or, at all events, remembered.

It may be necessary to explain that the chalk rock, which, as usual, degenerates towards the surface into chalk rubble, is covered with hardly a foot of soil, except at a few places, where there are slight dips. The graves, which appear to have been very shallow, were dug in the chalk. When the quarrymen are preparing to break away a new mass of the rock, they begin by clearing away so much of the earth, of the surface, which is thrown down into the quarry, and carted away thence before they begin to break down the chalk. It was in this process that the rich grave, or, perhaps, graves, which furnished the articles I am going to describe, were broken up, as it appears without the slightest observation of what they contained, the two or three articles carried to Scarborough having been merely picked up in the quarry by one of the labourers, and carried home as playthings for his children. Lord Londesborough resolved upon exploring the ground above the quarry which had not been broken, but when we arrived at the spot we found the mass of earth which had been thrown down still lying undis-

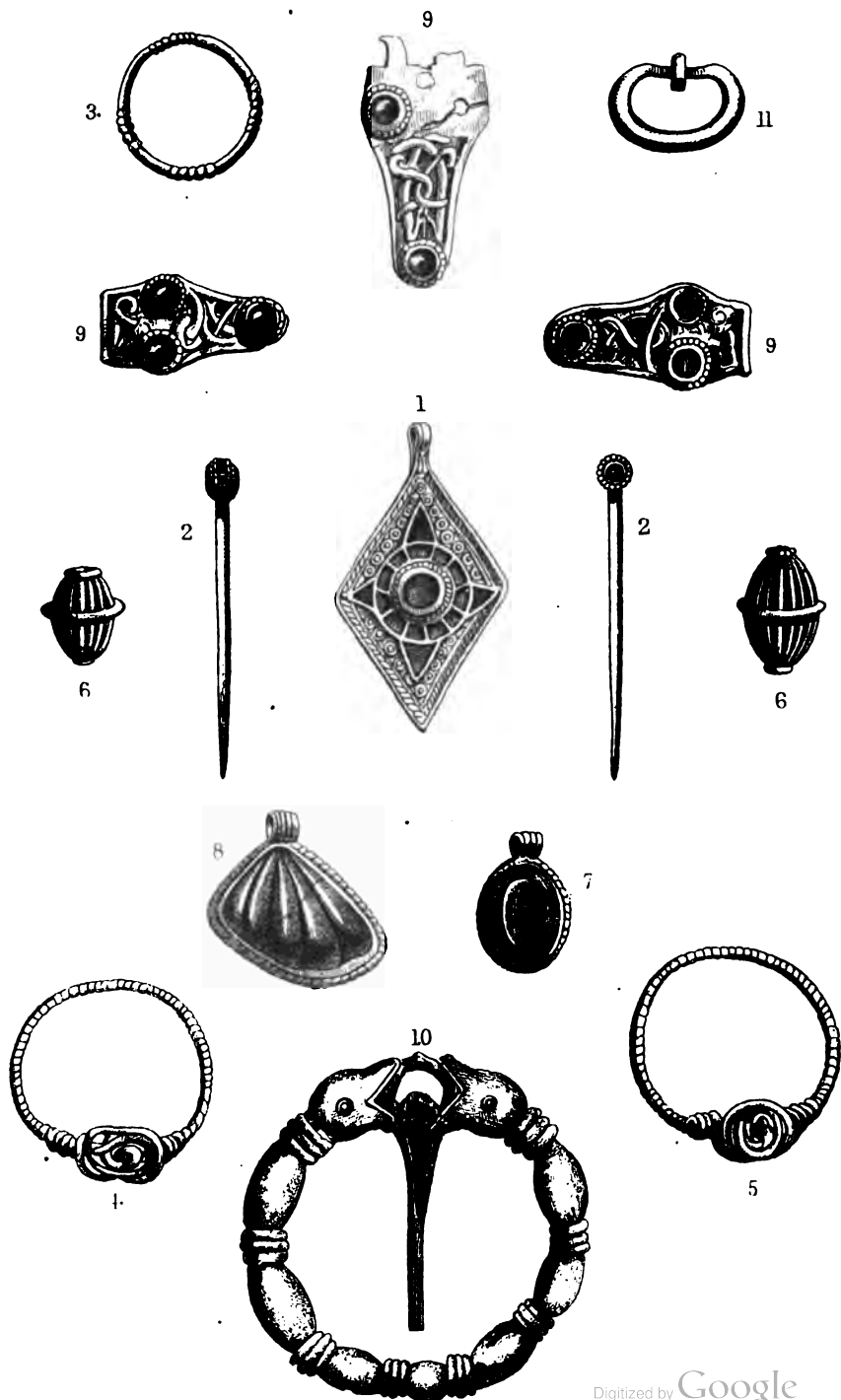
turbed at the bottom of the quarry, and we immediately determined upon having it carefully sifted. It was in this earth that we found the greater part of the articles I am now going to describe. One or two objects were taken out of the earth still remaining on the top of the rock. The chief of these articles are shown on plate 18—a small, hard-baked, Anglo-Saxon urn, in brown pottery, elegantly formed, and unbroken; a gold pendant, diamond shaped, of filigree work, set with enamel, and, I think, garnets, fig. 1; two gold pins, the heads set with garnets, figs. 2, 2; a small gold ring, fig. 3; a large gold ring, fig. 4; a large silver ring, exactly resembling the preceding, fig. 5; two ornaments of gold, filigree work, somewhat like beads in form, but the use of which is uncertain, figs. 6, 6; an oval bulla, or pendant, consisting of a stone, I think a ruby, set in gold, fig. 7; another pendant ornament, of irregular form, consisting of a stone, cut into ribs, and set in gold, fig. 8; three ornaments of gold, set with stones, which resemble each other, and were, perhaps, the settings of a purse, or small bag, figs. 9, 9, 9; three large beads, in variegated glass; pieces of several smaller glass beads; a large bead of amber; several other beads of different substances; a small, thick ring of jet; a long, oval, amethystine bead; a large, ring-shaped fibula, or brooch, of silver, fig. 10; fragments of what had been an elegant band of fine silver wire, platted, which had, no doubt, been broken to pieces in the fall into the quarry; a very small and elegantly-shaped bronze buckle, fig. 11; several other articles of ornament, mostly of bronze, and not so easily explained.

I must not forget to mention among the ornaments what appeared to have been a coin, probably one of the very early Northumberland stycas, which had a small rivet through one side, and had, therefore, been probably used also as an ornament. We also found a considerable quantity of broken pottery, and fragments of iron. Among the latter were staples, large nails, etc., which appear to indicate that the body of the possessor of these jewels had been interred in a wooden chest. There was also found a piece or two of rather thick glass, with appearances of antiquity, and which, no doubt, belonged to a glass vessel of some magnitude.

After having completed the examination of the fallen earth, we set the men to trench the ground above the

quarry, and we soon came to another interment, and on carefully opening the grave, it was found to contain a skeleton, which had been laid on its right side, with the legs and knees in the position of one kneeling, the right hand stretched forward, and the left backwards, so that the hand lay on the loins. The skull was in such a frail condition, that it broke to small fragments in my hand. Unfortunately, in this instance, few articles of interest of a durable character had been buried with the corpse. A circular bronze ring was found in a position which showed it to have belonged to a girdle; a small knife lay on the one side, close to the left hand, and fragments of bone and of iron were found on the right side, which may have belonged to a small purse, and, perhaps, to a buckle of the girdle.

This grave was very near to the spot where the gold ornaments, etc., were found. We pursued our researches during that day and the day following, but were unsuccessful in meeting with another interment, partly, I think, through some difficulties which stood in the way of our exploration, and partly, I fear, because the greater part of the cemetery has been cut away by the quarry. The discoveries, however, which we made, presented several points of interest. They indicate in this spot a wealthy Anglo-Saxon settlement, probably as old as the sixth century. It is, as far as I know at present, the only instance of the discovery of gold and silver ornaments of the early Anglo-Saxon period, in interments on the north of the Thames. They are common in Kent, but these found at Seamer have almost the character of Frankish, rather than of Kentish manufacture. The personal ornaments found in the Anglian graves, whether East Angles, Middle Angles, Mercians, or Northumbrians, are usually of bronze, or of copper, thickly gilt.



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ON THE ANTIQUITY OF SPOONS.

BY J. R. JOBBINS, ESQ.

THE several varieties of spoons of considerable interest which have been exhibited by some of our associates, have led me to endeavour to trace something like an account of the origin of spoons ; but though I have searched through many sources I am fearful I have not gained sufficient to be of much interest. Perhaps my gatherings may have been too desultory and too hasty to arrive at anything like completeness, but if they should furnish data for the more learned to amplify the subject all I have aimed at will have been achieved. As the derivation of the word may be easily obtained by consulting the dictionaries, I have passed over its origin.

In pursuing an inquiry into the antiquity of spoons as an article of table and domestic utility, it may not be erroneous to imagine that the sea-shell, or the horn of the animal, furnished the first type of the means for conveying liquid to the mouth, and perhaps afterwards, from the ladle or scoop used for cooking and agricultural purposes, we may date the origin of the spoon, which may be looked on as a *ladle-minor*, for we find in many of our dictionaries that the meaning of the word is given as a *ladle*.

We are told that ladles were often constructed with the bowl at a right angle to the handle as well as in a straight line therewith, and of a multiplicity of shapes. That they were in use among the nations of antiquity, there can be no doubt. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans applied them to domestic uses, and the natives of Etruria also seem to have had them as an article in request in their culinary arts, as a ladle may be seen hanging on one of the pillars in the ancient tomb at Cervetri, the subject of one of the plates illustrating the valuable and learned article of Sir G. Wilkinson in vol. xii of our *Journal*, and the same instrument is figured in the plates to the works on Pompeii, and the form of the ancient spoons of the Egyptians is also known from their monuments.

It is remarkable that although the ladle was probably the

first article in use for domestic purposes, we do not find it spoken of in any scriptural text, but there are many passages in the Bible wherein spoons are mentioned. In the seventh chapter of Numbers the value of such an article is pointed out—"one spoon of ten shekels of gold, full of incense;" and in the first Book of Kings, chapter seven, it says, to show the precious metals were in use in their manufacture, that "*the spoons were of pure gold,*" and in the second Book of Chronicles, the twenty-fourth chapter, we are led to believe that money was connected with spoons; the words are "of the rest spoons were made."

In the *Deipnosophists* of Athenæus an account is given of a Macedonian banquet, of a most extravagant kind, where the spoons used appear to have been of gold, which were afterwards presented to the guests by the munificent host; and in the same work we find that spoons must have been generally used, for there were makers and dealers in spoons, from whom was to be learned their use. In Montfaucon's *Antiquities Explained*, and other works, representations are given of various Roman spoons, made of gold, silver, bronze, and iron; in form they are rather peculiar, as well as in the style of their embellishment. Roman spoons appear sometimes to have had the hollow part of the bowl half covered over, somewhat after the fashion of our medicine spoons. The bowl, of which I have seen a drawing, scarcely differs in shape from those we now use. Another Roman spoon has a short handle, like the tail of a fish, and the bowl appears to have been remarkably shallow, the inner surface has upon it an embossed representation of a crested dolphin swimming in his native element, whilst the border is ornamented with deep sunken holes. Another kind of Roman spoon has a straight four-sided tapering handle. The one I refer to as an example is said to have been found at Autun in France. There is also a Roman spoon for supplying salt and eating snails with; it is termed a cochlear, from *cochlea* a shell or cockle. A species of simpulum, or ladle (of which articles there are many varieties), is long-handled, and has a kind of cup at the bottom, instead of a bowl; it was employed by the priestess at the sacrifice for ladling the wine out of the crater into a smaller vessel to make libations; it was also used to fill at feasts the wine cups they drank from out of the larger vessel.

In all the countries of the East more or less in common use may be found the spoon. In India it is formed of leather, in China of porcelain, in modern Egypt of tortoise-shell, in Turkey of agate and amber: these people being forbidden by the Koran to put spoons of gold and silver within their mouths, evade the prohibition of their prophet by making it only apply to the bowls of the utensils, as they gratify their vanity by an ostentatious display of both the precious metals set with jewels in the handles. The Arab, who is primitive in his feeding, and loves his fingers better than knives, forks, or spoons to eat with, only uses a large description of the latter when he sips up his sherbet; and the Persian, who is hardly more refined in taking his food than his neighbour, the Arab, scarcely deigns to use other than his fingers, save when he cools his thirst by flying to the sherbet vase; it is then that he is dexterous with the delicate-handled spoon of box or pear-tree. Leaving the natives of the far-east countries, we will turn our thoughts homeward, where, with the early Saxons, we may believe that the *spone* was made and used by them. In their times it appears to have been fashioned in wood, bone, and horn, and in the middle ages among us they were of latten,¹ iron, pewter, lead, pearl, ebony, agate, amber, silver, and gold. A great gift was it with our ancestors at their christening festivals to have presented Apostle-spoons to the godchild by the sponsors. In the play of *Henry VIII* the king rallies Cranmer as wishing to spare his spoons by excusing himself from being godfather to the young Princess Elizabeth; and there are many other passages in our great dramatist's works that show he well knew all the qualities and uses of the spoon, from the short ones to that sufficiently long to eat with the devil. See *Coriolanus*, the *Tempest*, the *Comedy of Errors*, and *King John*.

A witty anecdote is related of Shakespeare having stood godfather to one of Ben Jonson's children, and being observed after the ceremony in a musing mood, Jonson came to cheer him up, and inquire the cause of his melancholy, when he replied he had been considering what was the fittest gift for him to bestow upon his godchild, "and I have resolved at last." "I prythee, what?" says Jonson. "I' faith," saith Shakespeare, "I'll give a dozen good latten

¹ *Latton*, *leton*, and *laiton*, are French terms for brass.

spoones, and thou shalt translate them." Sometimes the sponsorial gift consisted of twelve spoons, the number of the apostles, each spoon being ornamented with the figure of one of the saints ; at others the gift was only four ; these had the evangelists on their handles ; and more frequently, according to the grade of the giver, only one, the stem being surmounted with the effigy of the saint after whom the child was named. To show that these gift spoons exceeded twelve in number, I have come across the following curious extract from the will of a William Dennyson, clerk, provost of Queen's College, Oxford, wherein he bequeaths to the college thirteen silver spoons weighing twenty-one ounces, twelve having the figures of the apostles, and one, the thirteenth, the figure of the Saviour. I presume these spoons are still existing among the valuables belonging to the college. The will of the provost bears date 18th Nov., 1558. But if apostle-spoons were considered by our ancestors choice things in their eyes in 1558, I think they were quite the reverse in the year 1642, for the Puritans at that time looked at them as idolatrous, if we may believe the purport of a tract published at the date just mentioned, which contained nine propositions, to be considered by Parliament for the reforming of crying evils then existing in the eyes of the sanctimonious, one of which was eating "*nativity pies* with spones." I am afraid such delicacies, and the ingredients they were composed of, are lost to us, for I cannot find any recipe for their composition in any of the old treatises upon the culinary art, but I shrewdly guess, although nativity pies are not to be found, that they still survive in our mince pies. The proposition in the tract runs thus : "7th. Being nativity pies they must be eaten with spones, and at the good time the good old people bring out plate, older than themselves, among which there are most commonly the twelve apostles, that is, a dozen of sainted spoons, so that these very instruments of eating are so many idols ; it is more than wisht you would take away those apostles as being now scandalous and superfluities, and that your owne heads (as you can best agree among yourselves) were fixt upon them ; it would be a pretty kind of statute to keep up your glories."

In the reign of Richard II. I find it recorded that in the year 1386 one of the lords of Raby, a Neville, bequeathed,

among other valuables, four dozen spoons. An historical anecdote is also told of the unfortunate monarch, Henry VI, giving a spoon (perhaps the one he carried about with him) as a reward to the owner of Bolton Hall, in Yorkshire, for his fidelity in giving him protection after the fatal battle of Hexham, upon leaving the place where he had been some time concealed, to prevent evil coming to his kind protector, or his possessions, from the Yorkists. This spoon was six inches and a quarter long; the bowl large and pear-shaped; the handle plain and round, terminating at top in an hexagonal shape, similar to a seal; upon the surface of which was impressed a rose. In 1777 it was preserved at Bolton Hall, belonging to the then proprietor, Christopher Dawson, Esq.

Another interesting quotation illustrating the doings at funeral feasts, from the will of the celebrated chronicler of English history, Fabyan, goes some way to establish, that with the commonalty at least, if not with the more wealthy, wooden spoons were the articles in general use. The testator died in 1512, and in his last testament may be found the following bequest: "I will that my said executrice doo purway, ayenst the said moneths mynd, 24 peces of beffe and moton, and 24 treen (wooden) platers, and 24 treen (wooden) spoonys; the which peces of flesshe, with the said platers and spoonys, with 24 *d.* of silver, I will be given unto 24 poore-persones of the said parisshe of Theydon Gernon, if within that parisshe so many may be founde; for lake whereof I will the 24 peces of flesh and 11s. in money, with the foresaid platers and sponys, be given unto such poore persones as may be found in the parisshe of Theydon at Mount and Theydon Boys, after the discrecion of myn executors."

Some other remarkable illustrations of the purposes to which spoons were applied will be found in the household expenses of the Princess Mary, afterwards the Queen Mary of unenviable notoriety, where it is stated, in 1540, that gilt spoons were gifts to cradle-rockers of royal children; and we learn from the same volume that spoons of gold were given as new year's gifts, as ten shillings is stated to be given to Lady Kingston for bringing "a spone of golde"; and in Nicholls' *Progresses of James I* we have horn spoons mentioned to eat "frumenty porage" with; and at the coro-

nations of the sovereigns of our kingdom a spoon has been long used to hold the consecrated oil which the sovereign is anointed with on the head, breast, and hands, in the form of a cross. The spoon so used is preserved with the *ampulla*, or golden cruet, in the form of an eagle, for containing the oil, among the *regalia* in the Tower.

Among our ancient tenures, the spoon again figures conspicuously; for we find that Sir Hugh Courtenay held lands under the Bishop of Exeter, in the fourteenth century, for performing the service of riding to the east gate of the city there to meet and escort the bishop to take possession of his bishopric; and for placing the first mess on his table at the feast in honour of his installation. Besides holding his land, the said Courtenay was to have the fee of four silver dishes of those carried to the table with the first mess, two salt-cellars, one cup wherein the bishop shall have drunk at that meal, one wine-pot, *one spoon*, and two basins wherein the bishop shall have washed,—all which vessels are to be of silver.

In the manufacture of the spoon it appears that many shapes were given to it, and that it was manufactured in divers ways, sometimes being a folding article to carry in the pocket or wallet; but the handle was generally a straight stem, and the bowl large and of an eccentric shape, approximating to an oval, such form being prevalent in those of considerable antiquity; and frequently the handles were of a twisted or spiral pattern. Some specimens of spoons are found with a fork and toothpick, the article being made in three pieces, to be used separately and put together as one; and they are said to have been made with maidens' heads at the top of the handle, and at other times with "molens' hedds and knobbes." The meaning of the word *molen* defies my search. It is not in any glossarial work I know; and they also appear to have been made of beryl "harnessed and garnysshed with silver gilt." Often the handles are found curved and highly ornamented, a common method in the second half of the sixteenth century. Such are shewn in a plate from an expensive German work by Becker of Frankfurt. The letter A on the plate represents a spoon less than the original size. The handle is silver gilt ornamented in the Renaissance style, and terminates with a figure of St. Andrew, whilst the bowl is of box-wood. It is an "apostle

spoon," one of a dozen, and the oldest of those figured on the plate.

Menage, a French writer, says there was anciently an unguent or electuary used, which, from having twelve ingredients in its composition, was called *apostolorum*. Whether this had anything to do with being used in "apostle spoons" to anoint children, I am at a loss to find out, as well as its medical and useful qualities.

Letter B is also drawn less than the original. The handle is of iron enriched with Damascene work, and the bowl is silver gilt. It is said to be a spoon constructed for the traveller, and is made to double up by a joint where the rosette appears. Its date is 1570 to 1590. The work on the handle is very rich, and partakes of the character of Venetian Damascene work. The flowers in the ornament are of gold, and the foliage is in silver.

Perhaps I may not be travelling from my subject too far to say that Damascene work is now lost in Europe, though it may be still found in manufacture in the East, from whence it originated. It was in its zenith in Venice, Milan, Germany, and France, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and consisted of two kinds or styles. The process of production differed according to the hardness of the material. One style had the surface of the article incised all over with undulations like the cuts of a file, upon which surface the artist traced his device, filling in the various parts of the design by means of gold and silver wires which he drove into the incisions with a hammer. After the whole surface had been so treated, it was hardly burnished and polished until it presented a beautiful variegated surface like embroidery. The wire, by the burnishing, became more firmly fixed, and totally obliterated the incisions just made. The other style was to produce a design in relief, which was obtained by deeply engraving it in the surface, and partly pressing into the engraved lines the silver and gold wires, leaving a portion above the surface of the graven incisions. To such a pitch of excellence this kind of work was brought, that specimens are often found to resemble lace and string pearl-work. The names of the most skilful workers handed down to us are Paolo Rizzo, Azzinino, Carlo Sovico, Filippo Negroti, Lucio Piccinini, Benvenuto Cellini, Cursinet, Helmschmidt, Kollmann, and Seusenhofer.

The other spoons, C, D, and E, on the plate are beautiful specimens of silver-gilt salt or sugar-spoons. These representations are made from the original drawings which the articles were made from. They exist still, and are in the possession of the author, who also possesses the spoon marked B. They are of the age of the end of the sixteenth century.

Another kind of spoon, differing from the "apostle spoon" and those just described, is known as bearing the title of "cavalier spoon." This appellation appears to have been given to it either during the civil wars, or perhaps at the period of the Restoration. These articles are rather uncommon, and difficult of being obtained. The stems of such spoons are surmounted with the figure of the king in the cavalier costume of the period. But what was the meaning of thus ornamenting the article, it is perhaps difficult to guess with precise truth. Perhaps such articles were originally sponsorial gifts from persons advocating the cause of the king at the period of the troubles, if the figure upon them is intended for that of the first Charles, and expressive of a desire that the child in after times might side with his ancestors and friends in the good cause. But if the figure represents the "Merry Monarch," it is no doubt complimentary, and may be considered that during his great popularity after the Restoration, he was looked on as such a "household divinity" as should displace the saintly emblem heretofore used on "apostle-spoons."

A hundred years ago snuff-takers fed their olfactories with a spoon, the powder being carried in a bottle instead of a box, the handle of the spoon forming the stopper of the bottle. In these days the spoon was considered more cleanly than the practice of using the fingers, and the prevalent expression to a friend was "Won't you take a spoonful?" The spoons used were slightly perforated to allow of their properly discharging their contents. The "mull" of the Scotchman is an elegant substitute for the bottle; and many a Highlandman takes no little pride in his spiral, silver-mounted horn, with the silver spoon suspended to it by a chain, to feed his nostril, and the hare's foot to dust off the superfluous particles from his upper lip.

It is remarkable that the spoon seems never to have been borne as an armorial charge in English heraldry, although we find fish, flesh, and vegetables portrayed on the shield,

as well as articles forming the paraphernalia of the kitchen, the pantry, and the brewery; and surely if we find these, there can be no impropriety in thinking that the marrow-spoon at least should have been a charge on that shield which displayed the two shin-bones.

To make up for the omission in our heraldry, I find in France, among the privileges of the corporation of gold-workers, previous to 1789, that of Niort, in the jurisdiction of Poitiers, was permitted to carry a shield *gules*, charged in the centre with a golden cruets, having on the dexter side a spoon, and on the sinister a fork; and again at Avesnes, in the jurisdiction of Lille, the corporation impressed upon their manufactures a *scoop*. At the date I have mentioned, and from earlier times, most of the workers in the principal towns of France marked their articles of plate with some peculiar stamp, which enabled those conversant with such marks to say at what place in the kingdom the article was manufactured.

The spoons, save the snuff-spoon I have alluded to, were all of a much larger size than those now denominated tea-spoons. When tea, towards the end of the seventeenth century, became a fashionable beverage, and was occasionally drank in the small cups we now see preserved in the cabinets of the curious in antiques, small tea-spoons arose of silver and *tutenay*. These were about one-third the size of those now in use. They were generally of plain silver, and sometimes they were ornamented by engraved bead-patterns upon their edges. Such articles have become rare, and are now but seldom seen.

I may mention another species of teaspoon, which is made of some soft metal, and resorted to as a piece of waggery to practise a joke upon some unsuspecting friend, who finds upon placing the spoon in his hot tea that it melts away to his dismay, and creates a laugh at his expense.

Passing from the rise and progress of spoons, I may mention some of the many terms and phrases based upon the name. There is in Scotland a phrase called *spoon-hale*, or *parritch hale*, applied to a person recovering his health when he is said to be able to resume his usual diet. The terms he is a *spoon* applied to the witless, and *spoonery* to the wits in other circumstances, are known to all, but the pro-

verb denoting the man of enterprise in the north of England is not so common—"he will either make a spoon or spoil a horn," alluding to his having either a measure of success or complete ruin, attending his actions. The early English poet Chaucer says it

Behoveth a full long *spone*,
That shall *ete* with the *fend*.

And our Henry IV is said upon one occasion, when rebuked for his clemency to his foes, to have answered with the truism, "that more flies are caught by a *spoonful* of honey than with a hogshead of vinegar." I have now, from the primitive ages through various periods and countries, briefly endeavoured to faintly trace, and mark in outline, this simple utensil. In all places, I may say, figuratively of its uses, I have found them the same—always soothing kindly poor human nature, and of it may be said truthfully that the infant so helpless, and the dying old man are both kept alive by the spoon; in every stage of man's varying existence, it is his companion; from it comes daily strength; hilarity often attends its offerings, and poverty blesses the succour it bears. In the mansion of the rich, and in the hovel of the lowly, it is welcome, and at all times it is an instrument of peace, and never has it been known to refuse its kindly offices, either to the thankful or the ingrate.

Ipswich Congress, 1864.

CATALOGUE OF THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM

COLLECTED AT THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS, UNDER THE CARE OF
MR. HADDOCK. LOCAL HON. SEC.

The lists hereunder given have been furnished by the respective exhibitors. They comprise by far the largest part of the collection, but several interesting contributions are necessarily unnoticed for want of information respecting them.

IMPLEMENTS, ORNAMENTS, COINS, AND SEALS.

MR. W. WHINCOPP (Woodbridge).

Flint Implements from the Valley of the Somme.

These six rude flints were presented by Mr. Prestwich, whose investigations in France Sir Charles Lyell so frequently refers to in his *Antiquity of Man*. In January last I sent my observations on the red crag deposit of Suffolk, with fossils in illustration, and in February a lecture was delivered at the Royal Institution. "In conclusion, Mr. Prestwich expressed his own conviction that we are not yet in possession of sufficient data to speak definitely of the age of these flint implements, and stated that he was almost satisfied that the evidence we have does not warrant the extreme length of time so frequently supposed." The weapons are similar to those discovered at Hoxne in this county by Mr. Frere. A paper was read on these objects of curiosity in June, 1797, at the Society of Antiquaries.

British.

Ancient British coin.

Druidical bead.

Earring, emblem of eternity.

Torc, or armlet of gold.

Pair of silver bracelets bent to fit the wrist, and small head of an ornament.

Roman.

Roman cameo ring, fine head in modern setting.

Rings in their original settings. Two are Imperial; two Lower Empire. The silver ring found at Mildenhall, in cutting the railway.

Gem with a wolf.

Small ring with a dog.

Saxon Period.

Rings in their original settings. The workmanship amongst them is very similar, and the fastenings of the hoops rudely soldered.

Gold and silver rings. Several with uncut and unpolished stones. One has an ornament with a bird, which is perhaps Norman.

Episcopal ring found at Canterbury, emblem of the Trinity. Gold.

Four other silver rings.

Brooch with turquoise; rubies uncut.

Seven rings of Saxon type; two of twisted wire work, like the gold armlet found at Brightlesea.

Large silver ring with a horse, probably Norman.

Saxon bracelet found at Brightlesea.

Ruby ring, composed of twisted iron work, like the bracelet.

Reliquary, crucifixion.

Crystal and gold ornament worn on the belt or girdle.

Ornament of gold metal work.

Mediæval Period.

Three rings, probably worn by astrologers, or used for cabalistic purposes, having the sun on the hoop, moon, stars, etc. One has I.H.S. of early date.

Four gold rings, sapphires, etc.

Astrologer's ring, with an unknown stone.

Signet ring, with a crest.

Silver brooch, or buckle, fastening lost; found at Dunwich—Jesus Nazarenus rex Judeorum, etc.

Silver ring, found at Framlingham, inscribed with the names of the three kings of Cologne—Jasper, Melchior, and Balthaser.

Reliquary and small head of Christ.

Two spousal rings of fine engraved work, inscribed inside, Honour et joye, and Por bon amour.

Two mourning rings, enamelled: one with a diamond; the other, death.

Gold ring, a pelican, emblem of piety.

Gold ring, ruby, one with three stones.

Pledge ring, in three parts; witness and the engaged parties; these were united afterwards.

Ring enamelled, etc.; one inscribed "tunt mon coer."

Mediæval, 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries.

Three silver rings from the collection of the late Mr. Clarke of Easton; thumb-rings, one has a portion of bone, probably of a saint; one is of curious mediæval work.

Four silver rings; one with I.H.S. and N.R.I.; three were Mr. Clarke's.

Two silver brooches; one of early date.

An ornament for the cap, with stones.

Two silver rings: one set with glass; one with cat's eye.

Three decade rings and ornaments for numbering prayers; one of these with nine fish; one lost.

Three silver rings and thimble.

Rose Derricke, dated 1689.

Brooches, studs, buckle, etc., of the last century.

MR. J. WARREN.

Roman Antiquities from Icklingham.

Two silver rings.

One silver fibula.

Ten bronze fibulæ.

Five bronze bracelets.

One glass ring or bracelet (black).

One string of beads.

Roman Antiquities from Pakenham.

One bronze prick spur, small size.

Four bronze fibulæ.

One bracelet, bronze.

One pair of tweezers, bronze.

One adze, steel or iron.

One bronze key, found in Ixworth.

Roman Bronzes.

Bust of Neptune.

A small figure of a dancing boy, found at Clare, Suffolk.

Saxon Ornaments.

One gold and garnet buckle.

One gold cross.

One front of fibula, gold filigree.

Three gold rings.

Two silver rings.

One ring of bronze wire.

One large cruciform fibula of bronze.

One pensive ornament, bronze, found in Ixworth.

From the Saxon Burial-place, West Stow Heath, Suffolk.

Eight bronze fibulæ.

One bronze buckle.

One pair of girdle hangers.

One very large glass bead.

Sundries.

Many mediæval antiquities, and fibulæ, rings and seals.

Two perforated stone implements.

Many flint implements from Icklingham.

Several finished flint celts.

One bronze spear from the river Ouse at Thetford.

One very large ditto, from Laken Heath.

Two small ditto, from ditto.

A tray of 28 groats, selected from about 400 found in taking down a wall near Bury St. Edmunds.

MRS. JACKSON (Debenham).

A collection of ancient coins, principally found in Suffolk.

MR. JOSHUA RODWELL (Claydon).

Five-guinea piece of James II.

Half-crown of Charles I, found at Alderton, 1817.

Alexander, silver coin, date 1249.

James I. shilling, found at Barham.

REV. THOMAS MILLS.

A folio of Suffolk manuscripts as a specimen.

Two etui cases.

A gilt quadrant, date 1572.

A watch, called a Nuremberg egg.

A small silver box, with a very good portraiture of Charles I. and Henrietta, his wife.

Two singularly formed crystals attached by a silver chain

N.B. A similar one is in the collection at Berlin, at the King's Palace—for what purpose?

A wooden case of ornamental platters, containing twelve very curious.

Specimen of ancient Venetian glass.

Ancient Venetian silver-gilt dish.

A cocoa nut mounted in silver, sixteenth century.

Filigree case, inlaid with rubies.

REV. S. GUNN.

Fragment of a Roman kiln exposed to view on the fall of one of the sides of a sandpit at Caistor, near Great Yarmouth, together with an iron pottery-stand, and specimens of pottery much contracted and bent.

Roman urn with ashes from Caistor, near Yarmouth.

Bone figure found at Dilham, near Smallburgh.

Flint implement brought by the late Tilney Sperding, of North Walsham, from Hoxne, about 1800.

First flint implement of the Hoxne and Amiens type found in Norfolk, found by Mr. Wm. Haughton, at South Wootton, Lynn, on the high-level gravel.

Casts of Seals.

REV. G. A. CARTHEW (Helmingham).

Three of Woodbridge Priory.

One of Dodwich Priory.

One of Bungay Priory.

One of Snape Priory.

Seal found at Esning.

Robert de Vere, third Earl of Oxon.

Robert de Vere, fifth Earl. Ditto, privy seal.

Matilda, widow of John, seventh Earl.

Matilda, widow of Thomas, eighth Earl.

John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxon.

Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk.

John de Ufford (Bastard?)

Constantine de Mortimer, of Attleburgh, Norfolk.

Sir Robert de Mortimer.

Henry Le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich.

Sir Roger de Huntingfield; counterseal of samo.

Sir Robert Burley.

Sir Thomas de Hoo.

Sir William de Hoo.

Seal of Thomas de Percy, Bishop of Norwich, attached to grant of land in North Elmham, Norfolk, 41 Edw. III.

Great seal of Henry VI.

Great seal of Edward VI.

Seals of William de Buxsted, and Olive his wife, to grant of land in Mendham, Suffolk.

MSS. AND BOOKS.

REV. G. A. CARTHEW (Helmingham).

Original Charters.

Deed of manumission from Prior and Convent of Mendham, Suffolk, 9 Edw. III.

Common seal of Priory of Mendham; counterseal; Prior's own seal.

Counterpart of deed of grant by John de Tomeston, Prior of Mendham, to Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, of a pension payable out of the Shotford portion of the church of Mendham, appropriated to the Convent. Dated 19th Oct., 1385.

Seals of Bishop Spencer, and of the Prior and Chapter of Norwich.

Deed of grant by Robert Bolton, Master of Wyngfield College to Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, of a pension payable out of the Church of Shadbrok, appropriated to the College. Counterpart, with Bishop's seal attached. 1 Hen. IV.

Lease by Prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, of tithes in Mendham, etc. Seal gone. 13 Hen. VII.

The original grant of the site and possessions of Mendham Priory, from Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (the original grantee) to Richard Freston, Esq. 28 Henry VIII. The Duke's autograph. Seal gone.

Exemplifications of grants of fee farm rents payable out of late possessions of Mendham Priory. 30 Hen. VIII. 2 & 3 Ph. & M.

Grant of the wardship and marriage of Ralph Shelton, son and heir of Thomas Shelton, Esq., dead. 28 Eliz. Great seal.

An heraldic MS. book, *temp.* Queen Eliz., with arms emblazoned, illustrating the descents of the royal families of England from Egbert to that Queen. This MS. was the property of the Shelton family, of Shelton, Norfolk, the last of whom was Maurice Shelton, of Barningham, Suffolk, whose arms are drawn on the fly-leaf. He was the author of a learned and curious book, entitled, *An Essay on the Rise of True Nobility*, the second edition of which (1729) has his engraved portrait. The Sheltons were allied to the Boleyns.

MS. readings on copyhold tenures, by Charles Calthorpe (1562).

Assessment of the several parishes in Suffolk to 15ths and 10ths, anno 3 Jac. I, and other entries. This book originally belonged to Anthony Bull, of Flowton; afterwards to Benjamin Vesey, of Hintlesham; and lately to D. E. Davy, of Ufford, at whose sale it was bought by myself.

Mr. C. F. Gower. •

Bible and Prayer-book from the private chapel of William and Mary.

Two original letters from Lord Bolingbroke to Mrs. Gower of Battersea, whose first husband was Hy. St. John, uncle to Viscount Bolingbroke. Also a letter from Lady Bolingbroke, and several from Mrs. Gower.

Deed under the great seal, with the signature of Queen Elizabeth, and countersigned by Burghley, being the sale of certain priory lands and manors in the City of Lincoln and Yorkshire.

Bible, 1673.

Cave's Lives of the Apostles, 1675.

Medal struck for the wife of the Pretender.

MR. W. P. HUNT (Ipswich).

An Exhortation to the Sycke, printed at Ipswich, by John Oswen, 1548.

Bale's *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae*, printed at Ipswich by J. Overton, 1548.

The Lectures of Saml. Bird, of Ipswich, printed at Cambridge by John Legate, 1598.

Samuel Ward's Sermons (1636), Lecturer to the Corporation of Ipswich.
Wonders of the Loadstone, by ditto, 1640.

Carter, J., Tombstone, 1653.

Suffolk's Tears; or, Elegies on Sir N. Barnadiston, with Fairclough's Sermon.

Parkhurst's Life of Burkett, 1704.

Sleeping in Jesus: Sermon preached at Parkhurst's funeral at Yoxford, 1708.

Sermon preached at the Funerals of Sir Edward Lewkenor, and Lady Susan, his wife, at Denham, Suffolk, 1608.

God Judging among the Gods: opened in a Sermon before the Honourable the House of Commons, by John Ward, Minister of the Gospel in Ipswich, 1645.

Life's Brevity and Death's Debility; declared in a Sermon preached at the Funeral of Edward Lewkenor, Esq., by Timothy Oldmayne, Minister of Denham, Suffolk, 1636.

The First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests, by John White, 1643.

Brady's Sermon, preached at Helmingham, Suffolk, at the Funeral of Lieut.-Gen. Tolmach, 1694.

The woefull and lamentable wast and spoile done by a suddaine Fire in S. Edmonds-bury, in Suffolke, on Monday the tenth of Aprill, 1608, printed 1608.

The Cry and Revenge of Blood, expressing the Nature and Haynousnesse of wilfull murther, exemplified in a most lamentable History thereof, committed at Halesworth in High Suffolk, 1620.

Parkhurst's Sermon at the Funeral of Lady Elizabeth Brooke, relict of Sir Robert Brooke, of Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Suffolk, 1684.

Dr. Gauden's Sermon at the Funeral of Dr. Brounrig, Bishop of Exeter; with account of his life and death, 1660.

MRS. W. H. ALEXANDER (Ipswich).

Hebrew Roll of the whole Pentateuch, 114 feet in length. Supposed to be of great antiquity.

Codex Begæ. Two vols.

Facsimiles of portion of St. Matthew, etc., written on papyrus in the first century.

Westwood's Palæographia Sacra Pictoria.

New Testament, by Erasmus. Original edition.

Antiquities of Ipswich. Folio volume.

Mr. G. BULLEN (Ipswich).

Greek Prayer-book, complete, 1625.

Prayers and Letters of Charles I.

1865

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 24.

THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

The Rev. Thomas James, of Netherthong Parsonage, near Huddersfield, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :—

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 74.

„ Journal of the Canadian Institute for March, 1865.

To the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1865.

Lord Boston exhibited the following interesting objects :—

1. A memento mori, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, carved in ivory, and consisting of the head of our Saviour crowned with thorns and a human skull placed back to back, perforated perpendicularly to permit of its attachment to a rosary. The expression of visage and arrangement of our Lord's beard, forbids the assignment of this beautiful sculpture to a later period than *circa* 1500.¹

2. Two scriveners' erasers of elegant Florentine work of the sixteenth century. The spear-shaped steel blades, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, are engraved with scrolls, and one has, in addition, on one side a female with a sheaf of corn, attended by a dog; on the opposite two birds standing on the edge of a basket of flowers. The second blade has a female with a branch, attended by a bird; on the opposite side a horseman and probably the name of the owner of the knife, SIG^{REO} FRAN^{CO} CARTONI. Both these blades are mounted in ivory handles, the first 11 in., the second $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, which offer a good hold when the scribe steadied the paper or parchment with the steel point whilst writing (in the manner shown in a MS. of the thirteenth century, given in this *Journal*, xiii, pl. 2), and when unemployed were thrust through the

¹ For notices of various *memento mori* tokens, see *Journal*, xvi, 344; xvii, 69; xx, 343.

girdle for convenient carriage. In the Soulages Collection is an Italian sixteenth century penknife and eraser with the hilt fourteen inches in length; and Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an Italian *scrivener's* eraser of the same period, engraved on one side with the figure of a standard-bearer in armour, and on the other with a lion rampant, etc., and mounted on ivory knife-haft, the grip carved in flutes and chevrons, with a lion's head at the apex. As the ancient Romans, on a sudden provocation, employed their *stili* as daggers,¹ so the Italian scriveners of the middle ages used these formidable *erasers* as weapons, and that one of Lord Boston's specimens has been turned to an unlawful purpose, seems manifest by the deep blood stain on the upper part of the haft just beneath the blade.

3. A refracting telescope, 24 in. long, of three drawers, covered with bright green vellum, richly decorated with vases of flowers, etc., in gold tooling, and provided with four glasses, with ivory frames at the ends. It is contained in a case of three parts, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, formed of large grained pearl-white shagreen. This splendid instrument was made in Holland, *temp.* William III.

4. A miniature painting in oil on a silver oval of King James II, which, from the style of costume, must have been executed towards the close of his life. It is nearly full face, turned slightly to the right, the complexion fair, the expression grave and unimpassioned; the flowing flaxen peruke descends on the shoulders of the dark red gold-laced coat, the front of which is partly hid by the long ends of the lace cravat. This little picture was purchased at Rome, and were it not for the costume being too early, might have well passed for a portrait of the Pretender, who is said to have greatly resembled the King.

5. A miniature in oil on a copper oval of Clementina Maria Sobieski, who in 1719 became the wife of the old Pretender. She is here represented almost full faced, of about twenty years of age, and before sorrow had thinned her cheeks and robbed her of her beauty. She is of fair complexion, with hazel eyes and brown hair, and wears the flat Roman *Berretta*, the white drapery of which falls down the back; red gown bordered with dark fur, and open in front, exposing a blue boddice with white lace tucker. The combination of the Italian *Berretta* with the furred dress of Poland, is singular and noteworthy. This, like the previous miniature, was purchased in Rome.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a small oval locket, with miniature of James II, painted in water-colours, at the commencement of his reign. It is nearly full-faced; the peruke rests on the shoulders of the steel armour, and the long ends of the lace cravat hang down in front. The convex back of the locket is of blue enamel, with a white

¹ Suet. Cæs., 12, c. 28, cl. 15, 35; Senec. de Clem., i, 14.

rose in the centre. Mr. Cuming also produced a brown medal by Otto Hamerani, struck by order of the Pretender in commemoration of the escape of his bride from Innspruck. *Ob.*, profile bust; CLEMENTINA . M . BRITAN . FR . ET . HIB . REGINA. *Rev.*, the princess in a biga; FORTUNAM CAUSAMQVE SEQVOR. *Ezerque*, DECEPTIS CVSTODIBVS, 1719. Engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, Aug., 1788, p. 677, and mentioned in Jesse's *Pretenders*, p. 58.

Mr. J. T. Irvine transmitted some excellent delineations of sepulchral crosses in Durham, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Dorset.

1. Head of a Saxon standing cross, found during the late restoration of Darlington Church, Durham, the knot-work on the face of which bears a singular resemblance to many of the New Zealand carvings.

2. Upper part of the shaft, with portion of the arms of an early English churchyard-cross, found built up in a buttress at Berkeley Church, Gloucester. The bold foliage which forms the motive of the design is very effective.

3. Monumental slab of a child found in the floor of Berkley Church, Feb., 1865. It measures three feet seven inches in length, and is sculptured with an elegantly designed cross, composed of four arms, ending in fleurs-de-lys, each arm having a branch springing from either side, also terminating in fleurs-de-lys, and so interlaced as to form in the centre an acute quatrefoil, the whole being included in a circle. The head of the shaft is wrought into a rich fleur-de-lys, and its base divided into two bold fleurs-de-lys. Date, fourteenth century.

During the repairs of Berkley Church there have been discovered some curious and beautiful remains of wall painting of early decorated date, remarkable by the entire omission of saintly figures. In some parts there are at least four different casts of decoration of various dates in the early decorated colouring. Two patterns remain, one precisely over the other, which differ in age scarcely more than thirty or forty years. It is the intention of the architect, Mr. G. G. Scott, to preserve it if possible, and repair the defective places. The colours are chiefly red, of a dark tint, with black and brown on a cream tinted ground.

4 and 5. Two monumental slabs of children at the east end of the chancel (exterior) of Batheaston church, Somersetshire. The shortest is two feet two inches in length, and is sculptured with a cross composed of four fleurs-de-lys united at the stalk, the shaft terminating in a fleur-de-lys. The longer shaft measures less than two feet and a-half, and bears a similarly constructed cross, but of richer character. Date, fourteenth century.

6. Sepulchral slab, five feet long, removed from the inside of the church of Maiden Newton, Dorsetshire, and now placed in the yard on the west side of the porch. It is sculptured with a plain cross,

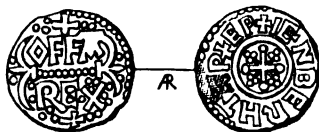
having a pattern in its centre, included in a quatrefoil supported on a slender stem resting on three steps, with leaflets, or rather berries, springing on either side its whole length. Date, late fourteenth century.

Mr. Murton sent further examples of the spigot-pots discovered at Silverdale, respecting which see p. 85, *ante*. One of the specimens now submitted is tolerably perfect, and has a square stamp in front which *seems* to consist of the letters I H C.

Dr. Walling, of Preston (who is a native of Silverdale), states that "the marl-pits whence the potters no doubt brought the clay for making these vessels were plainly worked in the beginning of the present century at *Clay Holes Moss*," about a mile and a quarter distant. They were about thirty or forty in number, many filled with water. Levelling and cultivation have obliterated the traces of some, though several are still to be seen. The use of the spigot-pots must have been very general, the larger ones no doubt for the brewing and fermentation of strong drink, such as *crab-beer* or *burtree-berry wine* (*elder-berry*), to be drawn off as required, whilst the smaller vessels may have been employed to infuse substances to be used as we do now our tea and coffee."

The remainder of the evening was engaged in the reading of the Treasurer's obituary notices of Members deceased in 1864. (See pp. 245-264 *ante*.)

At page 71 of the last volume of the *Journal* some Saxon coins found at Southampton, of which impressions were submitted by the Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., were described by J. B. Bergne, Esq. The second in the list is a coin of OFFA, King of Mercia, but the impression of the reverse was too imperfect to admit of a complete description. The coin itself has since been examined by Mr. Bergne, and proves to be one of great rarity and value. It is unpublished, and a cut is



therefore here given. The inscription on the *obverse* is OFFA REX, and on the *reverse* IENBERHT AR. EP. A coin almost or quite identical with it was formerly in the collection of Mr. Atherley, of Southampton. In the cata-

logue of the sale at his decease at No. 163 it was thus described :

"Jaenberht, Abp. of Canterbury, an unpublished variety of Ruding, pl. 12, and Hawkins, 140: + IENBERHT. AREP; *rev.*, OFFA: REX, in two lines, fine, and of the utmost rarity; weight seventeen grains and a half." It was obtained by Mr. Atherley from the Southampton Saxon bone-pits, referred to by Mr. Kell at page 68, *et seq.*, of the last volume, and in Mr. Atherley's MS. memorandum book of coins; it was noted that he had purchased this one for five shillings and

valued it at two guineas. At the sale it fetched the large amount of one hundred guineas, and passed into the collection of Captain Murchison.

The coin now engraved belongs to Captain Bradby (not *Bradley*, as before printed), the owner of that part of the site of the Saxon town of Hamptune at which this and other Saxon coins in his possession have been found.

The nature of the connection which these coins of Offa, King of Mercia, establish between him and Jaenberht, otherwise Lambrith, or Lambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the latter part of the eighth century, is unexplained.

JUNE 14.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., Rouge Croix, V.P., in the Chair.

Richard Henry Wood, Esq., of Crumpsall, near Manchester, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :—

From the Society. Journal of the Canadian Institute, No. 8vo.

„ Kilkenny Archæological Journal, No. 46. 8vo.

From the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for June. 8vo.

From the Editor. Bulletin Monumental, par M. D. Caumont. Paris, 1865. 8vo.

Mr. J. Irvine presented a coloured drawing of a tessellated pavement found at Bath in 1864; also sketches of architectural subjects in the church of Bradford-on-Avon. They consist of portions of Saxon crosses with interlaced strap work, bases and capitals of Norman columns, a sepulchral slab with the cross of the fourteenth century, and the north aisle of the church exhibiting the thirteenth century work.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a curious series of gally tiles of the second half of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth century, many of them painted with scripture subjects. Mr. Simpson promised to reproduce them, with other examples, at a future meeting, and accompany the display with some explanatory notes.

Mr. George Vere Irving exhibited rubbings taken from the chair of Cardinal Beaton, which has recently passed into the collection of our Associate, Mr. Sim.

Lord Boston exhibited an oval plaque of tortoise-shell from the lid of a box, three inches high by two inches and a quarter wide, carved with a cameo bust of Charles I, in profile, to the right, identical in every respect, but size, with that upon Roettier's mortuary medal of

the king, of which Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid an example before the meeting. Mr. Cuming said he had long contended that the portrait on this medal was copied from the famous Bernini bust, and this idea is strengthened, if not confirmed, by the plaque now produced, which bears on it the letters O. B., the initials of the words *Opus Bernini*; ¹ and that it was wrought for Charles II during his father's life is also evidenced by the label with which the sculptor has ensigned these letters. This plaque was purchased at Antwerp, and was probably carried into the Netherlands by Charles II during his exile.

It is worthy of record that James II possessed a tortoiseshell box of the precise size of the above plaque, on the lid of which is sculptured a three-quarter bust of Charles I, closely resembling that which appears on his great medal of 1636, with "*Justitia et pax*" on the rev. This box was given to James by his father, and on the day of his death (Sept. 16th, 1701) at St. Germain, was found in one of his pockets by an attendant named Clarke, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. Were these two boxes ordered by King Charles I as presents for his sons when he sent Cavalier Bernini the splendid ring in token of his approval of the marble bust? ²

Lord Boston also exhibited a miniature in oil on an oval of copper, of James Duke of Monmouth. This miniature, with those of James II and Clementina Sobieski, exhibited at the last meeting, were purchased in Rome, and are conjectured to have once belonged to Cardinal York. Portraits of the Duke of Monmouth are not often seen, though he was painted by Kneller, Lely, and others. The Duke's profile is well shown on the insulting medals struck by order of James II, in commemoration of his defeat and death in 1685, some of which are engraved in the *384 Medals of England* (pl. 38).

Lord Boston added to his previous exhibitions a massive hilt of a Turkish *khancher*, of morse ivory, elaborately sculptured, the subject on one side consisting of a male figure grasping the throat of a female, who holds a bottle in her right hand and an egg in her left, while in front are three nude children. On the opposite side of the hilt is a male figure supporting a bird, the female with an egg, another female is seen in profile, and before them a short personage in a *fez*, and three nude children; above and below each subject is a band of inscription. ³ In Skelton's *Meyrick* (pl. 135) are representations of Persian "*kinjars*," with hilts of similar contour to the foregoing, and Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced an early example, the large ivory handle

¹ The preference by the Italian artists for the word *opus* instead of *fecit*, manifested itself as early as the fifteenth century, as is apparent by the cast and chased medallions of Boldu, Petricini, Pisanello, Sperandio, and others.

² For a notice of the presumed terra-cotta model of this bust, see *Journal*, xvi, 292.

³ For a paper on carvings in morse ivory, see *Journal*, vii, 31.

of which is much slighter in the grip, with a knob in the centre, and in this respect resembling one among the Indian arms in Skelton (pl. 141).

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, sent for exhibition eight stone celts, found in Suffolk, composed of varied material, and differing greatly in size:—

1. The largest, found at Troston, weighing four pounds ten ounces, and measuring ten inches in length and four in breadth at its widest part. It is of greenstone.

2. Black flint in beautiful preservation, nine inches long by three and a-half inches broad. Found at Santon Downham, near Brandon, weighing twenty-eight ounces.

3. In yellow flint, six inches long by two and a-half inches broad, found at Langham.

4. Grayish white flint found at Icklingham, six inches by four, in very fine state.

5. Six inches by four in micaceous schist found at Thurston.

6. In granite, four and a-half inches by two and a-half inches, finely executed, found at Lakenheath.

7. Four inches by two and a-half, in green stone, finely polished, found at Livermore.

8. Found at Culford, two and three-quarters inches by one inch, in transparent flint.

A paper by Mr. F. J. Baigent "On the Church of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester" was read. It will be published by the Association. It was accompanied by drawings of all the wall-paintings and discoveries made during the restoration in 1864 and 1865. The Chairman then adjourned the meetings of the Association over to November next, intimating to the members that the Durham Congress would be held on the 21st of August, extending to the 26th, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, and congratulating the members upon the great number and excellence of the papers produced during the past session.

NOVEMBER 22.

N. GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

The Bishop of Durham

Rev. Samuel Martin Mayhew, 158, New Kent-road

C. Lynam, Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent

C. Hart, Esq., Wych-street, Strand

C. A. Waite, Esq., 3, Gordon-place

Henry Forster, Esq., Shenfield, Brentwood, Essex
 Rev. Disney Legard Alexander, Ganton, Yorkshire
 William Thrale Sich, Esq., Chiswick
 Edward M. Beloe, Esq., Lynn, Norfolk
 Charles Lockhart, Esq., St. Mary Bourne, Andover
 Dr. Stocker, Grove House, Bow
 W. L. Wharton, Esq., Durham
 Sir George Musgrove
 R. A. Allen, Esq., Blackwell, Darlington
 Rev. J. W. Smith, Dimsdale Rectory, Darlington
 William Henderson, Esq., Durham
 The Dean of Durham
 Rev. Dr. Jenkyns, Durham
 Henry Stapylton, Esq., Sniperley, Durham
 Messrs. Backhouse & Co., Durham
 J. W. Barnes, Esq., Bank, Durham
 The Recorder of Durham
 James Brooksbank, Esq., Durham
 F. D. Johnson, Esq., Aykley Heads, Durham
 Joseph Davison, Esq., Greencroft Hall, Durham
 Rev. Richard Skipsey, Sunderland
 T. C. Thompson, Esq., Sherburn Hall, Durham
 Rowland Burdor, Esq., Castle Eden
 John Straker, Esq., Wellington Hall, Durham
 John Shields, Esq., Durham
 Samuel Rowlandson, Esq., Durham
 W. M. Hindmarch, Esq., Q.C.
 Thomas Belk, Esq., Hartlepool
 Richard Carr, Esq., Hedgeley, Northumberland
 Henry Fenwick, Esq., M.P., South Hill, Chester-le-Street
 Jarrow Chemical Company, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 Venerable Archdeacon Prest, Durham
 Rev. R. H. Williamson, Hurworth, Darlington
 The Mayor of Durham
 Rev. C. W. King, Durham
 Rev. Dr. Holden, Durham
 John F. Elliot, Esq., of Elvet Hill, Durham
 Alderman Robert Robson, Durham
 Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray, M.P.
 J. W. Hays, Esq., Durham
 General Shadforth, Durham
 John Coppin, Esq., North Shields
 Rev. Professor Chevallier, Durham
 John Henderson, Esq., M.P., Durham

Ven. Archdeacon Bland, Durham
 John Fawcett, Esq., Durham
 Rev. E. H. Shipperdson, the Hermitage, Chester-le-Street
 Rev. Canon Evans, Durham
 Lord Ravensworth, Ravensworth Castle, Durham
 Sir William Armstrong, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The following presents to the library were announced :

From the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine from July to November 1865. 8vo.

" " The Canadian Journal for May and July 1865. 8vo.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. November 1863 to February 1864. 1 vol. 8vo.

" " Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. 39. Part II. 4to.

" " Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Association for January 1865. 8vo.

From the Society. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. 1 vol. 8vo.

" " Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Association. Vol. xii. 8vo.

" " Transactions of the Cheshire Historic Society. Vol. iv. 8vo.

" " Laws of the American Numismatic Society. 8vo. Pamphlet.

From the Astronomer Royal. Essays on the Invasion of Julius Cæsar and the Expeditions of Plautus and Claudius into Britain. 4to.

From the Society. Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association. July 1865. 8vo.

From Edward J. Wood, Esq. History of Clerkenwell, by the late W. J. Pinka, Esq.

From the Society. Report of the Smithsonian Institute of Washington, U.S.A., for 1863. 8vo.

" " Contributions to Knowledge by the Smithsonian Institute of Washington, U.S.A. 4to.

From the Commissioners. Introduction to the Senchus Mor and Ancient Irish Laws.

Mr. Edward Leven, M.A., exhibited a remarkably small MS. Latin book of prayers and offices, very neatly written on one hundred and thirty-eight leaves of vellum, stated on the title-page to be "*nella grandezza di un quattrino*"; i.e., about three quarters of an inch square. It is ornamented throughout with illuminated initial letters and miniatures, in a fine style of Florentine art, and is preceded by a table of contents. On the last leaf are the words "*Il Gagliardello scrittore in*

Fiorenza, 1590." The writing, although so minute, is peculiarly distinct; and this and the small size of the illustrations render this diminutive volume an excessively interesting object.

The Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited some further specimens of leaden seals from Gurnard's Bay in the Isle of Wight. He explained that they had been recently procured from the building of which he gave an account during the summer (see *ante*, p. 228), viz., the Roman building discovered at Gurnard's Bay. He compared them with those drawn in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, and said that although he was aware of such articles being still in use in France, he thought the circumstances under which these were found warranted the belief which he entertained of their Roman origin. Certain goods whereof the importation into France is prohibited, are nevertheless permitted to pass through the country to other destinations upon being submitted to the proper authorities, who attach to them lead seals. The goods are then said to be *plombés*. In addition to the pottery formerly exhibited in proof of the Roman date of the building where these seals were found, Mr. Kell now produced a beautiful little figure, in bronze gilt, of Mercury recently discovered at the same place.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., V.P., considered the question as to the age of the seals a very obscure one. He thought it probable that these might be Roman, but was aware that lead seals might be produced of the middle ages.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills considered some of those seals now exhibited to bear mediæval coats of arms.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., V.P., exhibited a bronze vase of Grecian workmanship and elaborate design.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., read a paper on a collection of coins made in Hampshire by the late Mr. Drayson, engaged on the tithe commutation. They were chiefly Roman, and introduced a discussion as to trade carried on in and before the Roman occupation of the district, as Mr. Kell supposed, by Greek merchants. The subject was reserved for further consideration.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper, "On Charms used in Cattle Diseases," printed at pp. 321-29 *ante*.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read a paper on Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire, and explained that the subject had been brought before the meeting by Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., past President of the Association, who having become possessed of a valuable set of drawings of the monastery, had requested him to prepare a history and description of it, and had volunteered to bear the expense of introducing it into the *Journal*. The paper is given *in extenso* in the present number.

DECEMBER 6.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman commenced by referring to the sorrow occasioned by the decease, since the last meeting, of Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, the Senior Vice-President and Treasurer of the Association from the beginning. Alluding to the part he had taken as the founder of the Association in 1843, he described to the meeting some of the difficulties which beset its commencement. Mr. Pettigrew was the fifth member enrolled, and so important were his advice and assistance, that the meetings soon came to be held at his house, and so continued for several years. In the conduct of the Association he exhibited, in its early struggles, a firmness and judgment which carried it through almost overwhelming obstacles, and soon brighter prospects dawned. Thus through many years it had grown more and more flourishing; but the friend whose loss they now deplored had left it in a condition which promised a long course of prosperity and usefulness.

W. M. Baily, Esq., 71; Gracechurch-street, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Society for the 17th volume of the Sussex Archæological Society's Collections. 8vo.

To the Publisher for the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1865. 8vo.

Mr. Wimble exhibited some Roman remains exhumed in Winchester-street. Among them a portion of a Samian bowl with a rather large figure of a rabbit on it, the upper half of a well-wrought bone *stilus*, and an iron knife upwards of seven inches and three-quarters in length, the flat tang faced with bone, and looped at the end; almost exactly like one given in Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue* (p. 72), save that the present specimen exceeds the one engraved by an inch and a quarter in length. Both may be compared with knives described in this *Journal* (xx, 66, 257).

Mr. Syer Cuming suggested that these knives were examples of the *cutter tonsorius*, the razor of the Roman barber, the sharp point being employed as a nail-scraper.

The Rev. H. V. Le Bas forwarded two little objects discovered at East Bedfont Church,—the one a bronze slider with staples four-tenths of an inch wide, for attachment to a strap or belt,—date, fifteenth century; the other, which is of silver, is a boatswain's whistle of the fifteenth century. It consists of a short pipe with a little globe at one end, surmounted by a winged chimera, and provided with two circular holes to affix it to a chain. In the condition in which it came to hand, it was not easy to identify its use; but Mr. Syer Cuming ingeniously arranged

it, and exhibited another boatswain's whistle of the fifteenth century, recovered from the Thames in August 1848. It is of very much larger size than the example from East Bedfont, and in general form resembles the whistles still in use. It has a slightly carved pipe ending in a globe crested with three fleurs-de-lis, and is pendant from a chain of long oval links; the whole being wrought of pewter.

Mr. Cuming remarked that the whistle was introduced into the royal navy at a very early period. Collins mentions the whistle, hung by a gold chain, with which the admiral cheered his men in action, now descended to the boatswain.¹ In the orders issued by the Duke of Medina for the Spanish armada, in May 1588, it is enjoined "that they salute the admirall with trumpetts, if they have any, or else with wistles, and men twoe tymes; or in answering the same, the same shall once again salute them." Shakespeare, in his play of *Henry V* (act iii), alludes to the boatswain's whistle where the chorus says:

"Behold,
Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing,
Hear the shrill whistle, which doth order give
To sounds confus'd."

Mr. C. Hopper exhibited a finger-ring of the seventeenth century, of silver, set with a small heart-shaped Mocha stone with blood-red spots, somewhat like the St. Stephen stone, and which are reputed to become pale with the ill health of the owner. In contour the gem resembles the pebble mounted in the Lee penny, and that from Majorca produced at the last meeting.

Mr. Syer Cuming exhibited two early Arabian buttons of Mocha stone, similar in colour to the setting in Mr. Hopper's ring, and expressed his belief that the gem was obtained in the East, and that the ring was worn as a talisman against hæmorrhage.

Mr. G. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a bone implement brought some years ago from the excavations at St. Katharine's Dock. The use of it is unexplained, and the discussion was postponed for the production of other specimens of the implement from the collections of the Rev. W. S. Simpson, Mr. Cato, and Mr. Cuming.

Mr. G. Wright also exhibited a small, but elegantly-shaped cup of Nola-ware, the sides of the bowl being decorated with perpendicular stripes of white-slip, and the lid of a Basilicatan amphora, bearing two female heads in profile, and two honeysuckle ornaments, the subjects being red on a black field. Date, *circa* 200 B.C.

Mr. Whincopp transmitted some remains of ancient glass and pottery discovered at Felixstow, and dug up in the Butter Market at Ipswich. There were Venetian drinking-glasses of the close of the sixteenth century, several vessels of early Staffordshire ware, a vase or

¹ See Fosbroke, *s. v.* "admiral."

² See *Journal*, ix, 334.

jar of Dutch manufacture; but the most interesting article was one of those from Ipswich, a vessel of brown unglazed earthenware, a water-bottle, called a *doruck*, from Khenneh, in Upper Egypt. It may be compared with examples given in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, i, 202, and with one in Mr. Cuming's collection.

Colonel Blane exhibited a supposed Celtic bronze bit, bearing the appearance of having formed part of a rich set of horse-trappings, and believed to have been found in a load of dung delivered upon a farm near Ganton in Yorkshire. It is, however, distinctly apparent that no such antiquity belongs to it. It is of cast bronze, with no mark of wear and tear, and ornamented with coloured paste to imitate enamel, but of so tender a nature that it could not endure exposure. Whether manufactured for imposture as a mock antiquity, or for any other purpose, there can exist no doubt of its recent fabrication.

J. R. Planché, Esq., read an elaborate paper on the pictures in Lumley Castle and the effigies in the Church of Chester-le-Street, which will be given in a future *Journal*.

In reference to some articles exhibited at the meeting of April 26 (see p. 237, *ante*), the following is here given—

ON CARVED FRUIT-STONES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

The beautifully sculptured cherry-stone kindly submitted for inspection by our esteemed Vice-president, Lord Boston, created so much interest, that I have been induced to throw together a few notices of carved fruit stones, by which it will be seen that the subject is not so trifling as might at first be supposed.

The *cherry-stone* in Lord Boston's possession is wrought into a head lying in a charger. The individual represented has a moustache, but little, if any, beard, so that it is doubtful if John the Baptist be intended, but the charger resembles that in which the saint's head reclines in a Greek fresco given by Didron in his *Christian Iconography* (p. 70), and on seals of the fourteenth century found at Mells, Somersetshire, and Godstowe nunnery, the latter engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1792, p. 529. This exquisite piece of minute sculpture is the work of the sixteenth century, and worthy of, if it be not by, Benvenuto Cellini.

During the sixteenth century it was much the fashion on the Continent to form rosaries of cherry stones, which were not unfrequently carved with great skill. At the sale of the Duchess of Portland's collection in 1786, lot 4147 is described as "a very curious rosary by Benvenuto Cellini, said to be the rosary of Henrietta Maria, Queen of King Charles I, who, in her necessities, pawned it to the Duke of

Orleans. It consists of six plum and fifty cherry stones, the first most curiously carved with parts of history, the latter with heads of emperors; and on the reverses emblems and mottos." Among the rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's coffee-house in Chelsea were "the four evangelists' heads, carved on a cherry stone," and "saints, etc., carved in beads of cherry stones." Dr. W. Oliver, in the account of a journey through Denmark and Holland, says, "I did not see the cherry stone in the King of Denmark's cabinet, which I was told had some hundreds of heads engraved on the outside of it; but I remember an English gentleman showed me once in Holland, in the year 1687, a cherry stone of this kind with a hundred and twenty-four heads on the outside of it, so that you might distinguish with the naked eye popes, emperors, kings and cardinals by their crowns and mitres. 'Twas bought in Prussia, where it was made for three hundred pounds English, and is now in London, there having been a law suit not long since commenced about it in Chancery."¹

Stones of other fruits beside the cherry were formerly employed for minute sculpture, as we have seen in the rosary of Henrietta Maria, and of which a further instance is afforded by lot 4148 of the Portland Museum, viz., a rosary by Benvenuto Cellini, said to have been the property of Clement VII, and "consisting of thirty-two plum stones of exquisite workmanship of sculpture on both sides in relievo; and between each stone is a pearl, thirty-two in number, with a larger one on the top of the tassel."

Peach stones, carved with the bust of Charles I, were worn as mementos by the knights of the garter after the king's death, and are described in the catalogue of the Loan Collection at the South Kensington Museum, p. 678. And it will be remembered that on the occasion of the exhibition of Lord Boston's cherry stone I produced a group of carved plum stones, among which is a well wrought human head with full moustache and flowing beard.

The practice of carving fruit stones for religious and other purposes was not entirely confined to Europe, as is manifest from the curious Chinese rosary of a Buddhist priest, with which I accompanied the exhibition of the foregoing plum stones. This fine chaplet is composed of the stones of the *pimela alba*, sculptured with the effigies of the eighteen disciples of Buddha, with their several attributes.

¹ See *Philosophical Transactions*, v, 134. London, 1734.

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